The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1886.

The Week.

THE end of the suit instituted by the Government to find out whether the Bell Telephone Company had not obtained its patents by fraud, is most melancholy. The origin of the proceedings has been clouded with scandal, their expense has been great, and now the Ohio Circuit Court has dismissed the bill for want of jurisdiction. It would appear that the suit ought to have been brought in Massachusetts, if anywhere. But the promoters of the suit think they would not get justice in Massachusetts, because there the telephone stock is very extensively held. It is said that the leading points in the case will be passed on shortly by the Supreme Court in other telephone cases now pending before that tribunal, but the Pan-Electric people are not cheered up by this, because they say "collusion" has presided over the making up of the issues in those cases. They are five in number and their records fill 25,000 printed octavo pages, and they are to be all argued together.

The disastrous ending of the strike at the stock-yards in Chicago is calculated to weaken the power of the Knights of Labor, very much as the failure of the Southwestern strike did last spring. The growth of the organization, in its earlier stages, proceeded upon the crude notion that if all wage-workers were banded together under one leadership, they could compel all employers to do whatever might be required of them. It would only be necessary for the central organization to support the demands of the local assemblies by contributing funds to the support of strikers, and by extensive boycotting of the obnoxious employers, in order to win victories all along the line. The failure of the first large experiment was attributed to the disagreement between district assemblies represented by Martin Irons, and the Executive Committee represented by Mr. Powderly. But this internal trouble had an origin and *raison d'être* quite beyond the control of Mr. Powderly or anybody else. It sprang from the fact that men out of work need to be supported, and that the wages lost by them must be made good by assessments levied upon others. This grinding necessity operated to restrict and curtail the efficacy of the boycott as ancillary to the strike, because every new lot of workmen "ordered out" brought a new lot of families on the general treasury, and operated in fact to reduce the wages of all Knights in the United States. Mr. Powderly, seeing all this in the beginning, was instinctively opposed to the strike, and used all his influence to stop it, going so far as to order the men back to work. But Knighthood in the Southwest had got its blood up and would not go back. How the final catastrophe came we need not now repeat. The Chicago stock-yards strike has yielded to the same forces which crushed the Southwestern strike, but fortunately has not been accompanied by bloodshed. The necessity of supporting 10,000 men and their families led or rather compelled Mr. Powderly to order the men back, and they obeyed because they could not do otherwise. All this goes to show the hollowness of the order, and tends to strengthen the trades-unions as separate organizations.

The Knights who are now trying to return to work in the Chicago packing establishments, are asked by their former employers to sign, as a condition of being taken back, an agreement not to quit work in future except upon two weeks' notice, under penalty of forfeiting a certain sum of money, ranging from $5 to $25, according to wages received, which must be deposited with the employers as security. This deposit is to be reserved from the wages of the first three weeks' work under the new agreement. On their side the employers agree to retain the men in their service only so long as their work is satisfactory. In other words, they insist upon controlling their own business, and upon a guarantee that it shall not be stopped or thrown into confusion without warning or indemnity, upon the orders of a secret society which has no interest in it. It is said that none of the strikers have objected to signing the agreement, and the probability is that they are glad of the opportunity which it gives of putting themselves beyond the tyrannical control of the Walking Delegate, and the various other local leaders of the Knights of the Martin Irons variety, who order strikes for the sole purpose of enriching themselves.

The *Sun* calls attention to the gradual evolution of the platform of the Labor party in this city. The party went into the George canvass with no principle but the taxation of land to its full value. After the election it demanded Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. The Executive Committee now declares that its efforts to "raise wages and secure leisure" make no progress, "owing to the existence of an impoverished mass forced by their necessities to accept work on any terms." It therefore now denounces as "the great wrong which curses poverty," the private ownership of land. The *Sun*, in answer to this, points out truly that within twenty miles of New York there is a large quantity of land which can be bought for a mere trifle, but on which no one cares to settle. It might have added that within 100 miles of New York there are large areas of land which anybody can have for cultivation who will pay the taxes on them, and that within 100 miles of Boston tens of thousands of acres can be had on the same terms, with no takers. In fact, one of the most striking phenomena of modern times is the dislike both of the poor and the discontented to get their living by farming. They prefer to crowd into the cities for a life of "luck," and when they do not succeed they take it out in abuse of the capitalists. There are probably not ten men in the Central Labor Union who could be induced to accept a farm to-morrow if they had to live on it and out of it, with no "hall" to go to in the evenings, and nobody to strike against.

Col. Bob Ingersoll took up the labor problem in a lecture on Sunday night and remarked, among other things, if correctly reported, that—

> "There is something wrong in every government where they who do the most have the least; where idleness is burdened with wealth, and industry pinched with famine; where honesty wears rags, and rascality a robe; where the loving and tender eat a crust, and where the infamous sit at banquets."

We think it very likely this is true. There is a fearful amount of wrong in the world in every direction. But we did not need an orator of Col. Ingersoll's powers to tell us this. Denis Kearney could do it and, indeed, did it. What we need to know is what is this wrong, and how we are to cure it. By what legislative process can we give honesty proper clothing, and take the robes away from rascality, give the loving and tender good square meals, and put the infamous on short commons? The country is swarming with orators and writers telling us "there is a wrong somewhere," or else Jones and Brown would not be so short of money, and Smith and Black would not have so much. We respectfully submit that we have had enough of this talk, and it works infinite mischief. What we need now is workable plans of preventing poverty and failure in life.

The way the Blaine newspapers all fall into line against Mr. Lowell in the Hawthorne controversy, since the complimentary allusions to President Cleveland in the Harvard address, is very amusing. They were, before the address generally disposed to consider Mr. Lowell the victim of a grievous wrong, and Mr. Hawthorne that curious but well-known thing, "a disgrace to journalism." But, since the address, they are one by one reaching the sorrowful conclusion that Hawthorne has been telling the truth and Lowell lying all along. Some of them—and notably the most disreputable of the lot, the Boston *Journal*—ascribe their conversion to Hawthorne's last letter, which they maintain contains fresh evidence. The truth is, there is not one line or word of fresh matter in it. He simply goes over the old ground, and mentions a letter he wrote to Lowell about the articles, and Lowell's letter refusing to write articles, and Hawthorne's telegram saying he was coming to see him. His defence still rests, as it has always rested, on his own story. He does add, as if it were corroborative proof, that he told people when he got back to Boston, that he had successfully interviewed Lowell, but how this concludes Lowell he does not explain. As evidence, it is very like the hole the woodchuck came out of as proof that a certain man had shot the animal.

The offence taken by Dr. McCosh at a certain allusion to Princeton in Dr. Holmes's poem at the Harvard celebration last week, has evidently a good deal of material in it for enterprising reporters to "work up," and has called forth explanations both from Dr. Holmes and President Eliot. But

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to the impartial eye it certainly seems a marked case of much ado about nothing. It was doubtless an error of judgment for Dr. Holmes to put into his poem any allusions to other colleges that were not complimentary, or were capable of being considered uncomplimentary; but then it is hard to glorify one college in verse without seeming in some degree to depreciate some others, and poets are allowed great license of all kinds, and Dr. Holmes is an old gentleman who lives a good deal in the past, when controversies were raging which are now very dead. Moreover, insults and slights do not exist, and are not by sensible men taken to exist, unless they are certainly intended, and Dr. McCosh surely could not believe that he was asked to the celebration in order that he might be made the victim of a deliberate slight. There is, too, a certain want of dignity in being easily offended, which the representative of a great institution ought to bear in mind. It seems to us that Dr. McCosh owed it to Princeton not to be driven away from the dinner and out of Cambridge by anything which anybody could put into a few lines of a poem. It is the young and insignificant, usually, who are most touchy. Princeton is a great college, for which Dr. McCosh has done great things. He cannot possibly suppose that people will forget this because Dr. Holmes said that some of Princeton's light was in the beginning reflected from Harvard, and spoke disrespectfully of Calvinism.

The adverse report which the United States Attorney for this district, Mr. Walker, is said to have made upon the application to the President for the pardon of James D. Fish, will meet the approval of every right-thinking man. It is said that he goes over the testimony on the trial, and shows that every opportunity was given to Fish to establish his innocence, and that he completely failed to do this; that if Fish was guilty then, he is guilty now, and being guilty he ought to serve out his term of punishment; and that he pays slight attention to the plea of failing health, which is the latest to be advanced in favor of a pardon. There is no reason why that should be considered in his case any more than it is in that of any other convict. He is undoubtedly suffering from his confinement, but that is a part of the penalty for his crimes. There was nothing in Fish's case as it was proved in court to entitle him to sympathy, or to give ground for sentimental pleas in favor of his pardon now. The fact that a long list of respectable and in some instances honored names was secured in favor of a pardon, is a sad evidence of the muddled moral sense which is found in many business circles. This man betrayed his trust as a president of a bank, and yet retired bank presidents and business men put their names to the petition to have him relieved from the penalty of his dishonesty.

Full returns from the recent elections show how little foundation there is for the Republican expectation of a break in the solid South in 1888. In North Carolina there proves to be a Democratic majority of probably 15,000 on the State ticket, and the Republican gains in the Legislature were due to a "still hunt" by that party and to apathy on the part of the Democrats, so that there is no possible ground for expectation that the State will fail to go Democratic on a full vote two years hence. In Virginia the Republicans have simply repeated their victory of 1882, when on a small vote like this year's they elected the same number of Congressmen as now; but there is no reason to doubt that on a full vote the Democrats will carry the State, as they did for the Legislature in 1883 and for President in 1884. The Republican gains in the South this year have plainly been the result of accident, and the idea of counting any Southern State as "doubtful" in 1888 is absurd.

That the President's policy has strengthened the Democratic party is clearly proved by the official returns from Missouri. In 84 of 114 counties the Democratic plurality on the State ticket is 41,779, against 28,650 in the same counties in 1884, which is a remarkable gain. This gain is the more striking from the fact that the spoilsmen have been claiming that Missouri was a State in which the President's policy was especially unpopular, and in which the Democrats were so thoroughly disgusted that many of them would not even take the trouble to vote this year. An examination of the returns in detail shows the noteworthy fact that in the Democratic "strongholds," where the discontent has been represented as strongest, the party makes a much better showing than in the election of 1884. The figures for a dozen of the strongest Democratic counties show that the result of Cleveland's policy there has been to increase the Democratic majority from the 15,000 of a Presidential contest to 18,000 this year; the Democratic vote showing scarcely any of the falling off to be expected in a less exciting campaign and which is so marked in the Republican vote. It may be added that the same thing is shown by an examination of the vote in the Republican and close counties, so that no doubt is left that the Democratic party is distinctly stronger in Missouri by reason of the President's course.

The official vote in the Twelfth Indiana Congressional District affords conclusive evidence that it was the Democratic spoilsmen, and not President Cleveland, to whom the "rebuke" involved in Democratic losses at the recent election was administered. The vote of the district in the elections of 1884 and 1886 contrasts thus:

	Dem.	Rep.	Pro. and Scatter.	Total
1884..	19,507	16,957	674	37,138
1886..	15,416	17,900	1,162	34,478

The Twelfth District is normally a strongly Democratic district, and gave over 2,500 plurality for Congressman Lowry in 1884. But Lowry proved so shameless a spoilsman that the better class of Democrats revolted against his reelection this year, and the result was his defeat by about 2,500 plurality. It will be observed that, although the total poll was much smaller a fortnight ago than in 1884, the Republican total was nearly 1,000 larger. This proves that hosts of Democrats who supported the Democratic candidate two years ago abandoned him this year, many of them voting directly for the Republican candidate, and the sole reason for this revolt was the fact that Lowry was a thorough-going spoilsman and a bitter opponent of the President's policy. On the issue of sustaining Mr. Cleveland it is obvious that, instead of 2,500 Republican plurality, the district would have given at the very least its old 2,500 Democratic plurality.

An examination of the complete official vote of Ohio reveals several interesting facts. We give it together with that of the two preceding elections:

	Rep.	Dem.	Pro.	G'b'k.
1886	240,895	329,314	28,657	1,902
1885	359,281	341,830	28,081	2,001
1884	400,082	368,280	11,069	5,179

It will be seen that during these three years the only vote that has uniformly gained is the Prohibition. The falling off in the Republican vote this year is much greater than in the Democratic. The Republican total is over 18,000 less than it was last year, and over 59,000 less than it was in 1884, while the Democratic total is over 12,000 less than in 1885, and nearly 39,000 less than in 1884. In other words, the Republican loss from last year is over 5 per cent. and from 1884 nearly 15 per cent., while the Democratic loss from last year is only a little more than 3 per cent. and from 1884 a little more than 10 per cent. The Prohibition vote has gained on the large vote of last year, which is a surprise to everybody, since it was generally expected that it would show a falling off. The Greenback or Labor vote appears to be steadily declining.

The "Reading Notice" abuse is growing so rapidly that very little disguise is attempted in the practice of it. It is invading all departments of the newspaper, and we should think would greatly confuse readers who are not familiar with it. For example, one New York paper published at the head of the first column of its eighth page on Saturday an article about the Custom-house and the Collector's methods. Immediately following this it published, in similar type and with the usual news style of heading, an article entitled "What a Big Tailoring House is Doing." Following this in turn was an article on the American Secular Union. Now, when the unsuspecting reader had finished the first article, which contained some sharp comments upon Custom-house methods, and, beginning upon the second, read that a tailor, name and address given, would "make a pair of trousers or a whole business suit between trains," or, "if you run in town some morning, will take your measure and furnish you with a 'claw-hammer' and doeskin trousers complete in time for calling or going to the opera in the evening," what was that unsuspecting reader to think? If he concluded that the second article was an advertisement, disguised as news, why might not the Custom-house article be the same? That sort of thing has been done many a time. The paper which sells its columns to puff a tailor will sell them to abuse a political or social opponent.

If the abuse were confined to the news columns alone, it would be bad enough, for it is then a fraud upon the reader, and a disguised sale of the newspaper's opinions; but it is now trenching upon the critical columns of many newspapers. Any lecturing charlatan who comes along can secure columns of "puffs" in the form of interviews which he pays for at so much a line. In these he is represented in just as flattering a light as

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he chooses to draw himself, but the paper puts forth the picture as its own, not his. There are papers (we speak from personal knowledge) which are not merely allowing, but are demanding, pay for friendly preliminary and other notices of artists, even the most deserving. This is the inevitable outcome of the practice. An editor cannot sell one kind of views and give another kind free. The very fact that his so-called critical opinions will command a higher price than his views of tailors, will sooner or later force the former into the market, where they will be for sale at a tariff of their own until the fraud is discovered, when the price will fall to the tailor level.

A British Parliamentary paper has appeared, on the "System of Coöperation in Foreign Countries," compiled from the consular reports under the system which the British Foreign Office has instituted, confessedly in imitation of the reports from our own service under Mr. Cleveland's Adminstration. According to the paper, England remains well ahead of foreign countries in coöperative distribution, but is far behind in coöperative production. In Germany the movement started by Schulze-Delitzsch in 1849 has developed both in the direction of distribution and production. Co-operative stores, or *Consumvereine*, are successful and increasing, and, "as in England, the more developed societies are gradually undertaking the production of their own goods." It is almost amusing to observe that in France, as well as in Belgium and Germany, coöperation has to contend with political theorists who want to "destroy capital." But the chief difficulty of associated production seems to be want of management. This is a difficulty which, as we have often pointed out, will be persistent. Good management must be had, and it must be well paid for, because there is so little of it going that it can always command a high price. It may be believed, however, that supreme good management may be less needed in coöperative enterprises than in private concerns. This would appear from the reports of some schemes started by employers of labor, such as that of Leclaire, the Paris house-painter, who, beginning a workman, turned his business into a coöperative association; of M. Godin, of the well-known *familistère* at Guise; of M. Laroche Joubert, the paper manufacturer, who says that, "given two mills with equal capital, and similar in every respect, if one gives shares of profits to its workpeople, it is bound to beat the other out of the field, as it will have the pick of the workmen." M. Godin reports that the patents invented by the workmen have greatly increased since the co-operative system was applied, although the profits of them go to a common fund. Further facts assembled from the reports of these employers are that coöperative workmen do not ask for a Monday holiday, as do others; that there has been no case of a strike for an increased share in the profits; that the workmen of the "Maison Leclaire" worked fourteen hours a day during a strike without the slightest complaint; and, finally, that in "a silk-dyeing coöperation" during a crisis the members took twenty-five francs a week instead of thirty-six to forty-six, the ordinary price for their labor. The German reports are far less favorable to the principle. Lord Rosebery asked for special replies concerning coöperation applied to agriculture, but that relation seems scarcely to exist.

Those who have most closely studied Mexican politics are the very ones to be guarded in predicting the course of affairs in Mexico, yet we see no reason to modify the opinion, recently expressed in our columns, that most of the talk of a coming Dictatorship in Mexico, telegraphed from Arizona and elsewhere, shows more enterprise than good judgment. A reading of the Mexican press reveals a singular mixture of credulity, ignorance, and recklessness on the part of the news gatherers of the frontier. Some weeks ago, it will be remembered, a Nogales despatch announced the assassination of ex-President Gonzales. Not even the vaguest rumor of such an event appears to have been heard of in Mexico. Then came that self-contradictory telegram, the first on the question of a Dictator, upon which we commented at the time. This was soon followed by a confirmatory despatch, appealing to the authority of the Mexican press. One of the papers cited was an obscure journal of the frontier, of about the rank of the *Eatanswill Gazette*. The other was the *Voz de Méjico*. Now, the latter is the organ of the Church, utterly obscurantist, the determined enemy of democratic institutions; it has apparently seized upon the rumor of a dictatorship and given it currency to support its own frequent prediction of the fall of the republic. To quote it as a high political authority is about the same as it would be to cite the *Tablet* as representing American opinion on the question of common schools. This can be made clear by two lines of evidence. The organs of extreme and uncompromising Liberalism allude to the gossip about a Dictator, regard it as possibly a feeler put forth by the friends of Gen. Diaz, yet generally look upon it as the malicious suggestion of reactionary Clericalism. For example, *El Mefistofeles*, a Liberal newspaper of Leon, says: "Only the papers led by the *Voz de Méjico* are applauding, and already thinking that they see crushed under their feet the Constitution of '57 and the laws of reform." And *El Correo de las Doce* shows its idea of the origin of the rumor when it declares: "Let us have no compromises with this clerical party; it will neither forget its enmities nor appreciate favors. If it does not respect the laws, let it be made to do so by force; if it violates them, let it be severely punished." Then, on the other hand, we find the part of the press which is friendly to the Administration, strongly resenting the suspicion that President Diaz would gladly make himself Dictator. Thus, *El Partido Liberal*, the personal as distinguished from the official organ of the President, recently classed the charge of ambition for despotic power as only one among the many malignant and mendacious accusations brought against Diaz by his enemies.

It may very well be that some of the flattering and superserviceable friends of Gen. Diaz are talking of him as the only man capable of giving Mexico a stable government, and saying that either by a prolonged term of office, or making him eligible for reëlection, or, in case of necessity, proclaiming him as Dictator, he ought to be kept at the head of the nation. But, thus far, the most that can be said is that the Dictatorship has been talked about—just as the sale of Sonora has been talked about, just as the secession of the northern tier of States has been talked about. Probably it will turn out that one was no more to have been expected to take place than the others. The Constitution may be amended so as to prolong the Presidential term of office, or so as to admit the possibility of reëlection. The President has given no authorized expression of his personal views on either of these subjects. But it is far more probable that he is meditating measures of that peaceable sort, that he is employing his spare hours of thought in casting about to find some escape from the enormous financial difficulties which confront his Administration, than that he is desirous of imitating Santa Anna in plotting to obtain the brief glory of a Dictatorship, inevitably followed, as he must know it would be, by disgrace and exile and ignominy.

Count Kálnoky's speech to the Hungarian Delegation last Saturday at Buda-Pesth was called pacific in the telegraphic reports. In a certain sense this is correct. It makes for peace by being sufficiently warlike. It leaves no doubt that England and Italy are ready to coöperate with Austria against Russia if the latter Power should attempt a warlike intervention in Bulgaria, and that Germany is fully in accord with this triple alliance, though not inclined to participate in the action so long as she is not absolutely needed. Kálnoky's references to the attitude of Germany, though couched in diplomatic phraseology, cannot be misunderstood. Germany and Austria-Hungary have their higher interests in common, but each empire has its special ones. "The continuance of each country as a strong, independent Power forms an important interest for both"—in other words, Austria-Hungary is bound to support Germany when the latter's position is seriously threatened by a Franco-Russian alliance, and Germany to aid Austria-Hungary when imperilled by Russia. Germany has no interest of her own in the Bulgarian question, except so far as she is anxious to preserve the peace of Europe. Austria-Hungary's special interest there does not demand Germany's direct action; but this will be called into requisition when the former, worsted in the struggle with her special enemy, is menaced in her existence as "a strong Power." Thus, while repelling Russian invasion on the lower Danube—"lying outside of the sphere" of her German ally—with the help of England and Italy, she could also count on Germany's direct assistance in case Russia should seek a much more important theatre of war in Galicia, where "absolutely united interests are concerned." In the meanwhile neutral Germany would closely watch France, and prevent her from entering the lists as an ally of the Czar and enemy of Italy; that is, without drawing the sword, she would give her ally such aid and comfort as really amounted to active co-operation. Under such circumstances it would be little short of madness for the Czar to throw down the gauntlet to Francis Joseph.

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

WEDNESDAY, November 10, to TUESDAY, November 16, 1886, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

THE judges of the United States Circuit Court at Cincinnati on Thursday morning rendered a decision in the celebrated suit of the Government against the American Bell Telephone Company. It is to the effect that the court has no jurisdiction in the case as presented by the Government counsel, and that the Bell Company has no agent in Ohio. As a consequence the suit is thrown out of court without prejudice. The result is understood to be that the suit must now be brought either against the company in Massachusetts, or against the parties who are managing local companies in Ohio.

The Supreme Court of the United States on Monday decided that the Choctaw nation is entitled to judgment for $3,108,708 against the United States for all existing claims.

Second Auditor William A. Day of the Treasury Department, who was known when appointed as a very strong opponent of civil-service reform, says in his annual report: "In my report for 1885 I expressed the opinion that the 'efficiency of the force can be increased and maintained only by the prompt removal of clerks who are incompetent from any cause, by the appointment of active, intelligent, well-educated men, whose honesty and integrity are above suspicion, and by the promotion and encouragement of the most efficient and meritorious.' In consonance with that opinion I have had to recommend the removal of a number of clerks of the classified service, and have selected new men from among those certified for appointment under the civil-service rules. It is but just to say that the civil-service appointees generally appear to be men of intelligence and capacity, who will undoubtedly make excellent clerks as soon as they have acquired the technical knowledge and expertness which can be gained only by experience and practice. The clerks as a body are entitled to commendation for faithfulness and industry."

Postmaster Harrity of Philadelphia has written to the Civil-Service Reform Association of that city asking for an investigation of the charges against him.

Mr. Charles H. Ham, for a dozen years United States Appraiser at Chicago, has been removed, and Mr. Francis A. Hoffman, jr., appointed in his place. Mr. Hoffman is a young lawyer, who stands high in his profession, but who has no expert knowledge as an appraiser. Mr. Ham is a lawyer, who is admitted at the Treasury Department to be one of the best, if not in fact the best appraiser in the United States. Mr. Hoffman is a local Democratic leader. Mr. Ham is a Republican who is not active in politics. The contest for this office has been one of the most noted under this Administration.

Mr. Blaine has published an open letter denying that he sneered at civil-service reform in his recent speeches in Pennsylvania. He says: "In effect I said that the English civil service, which was held up as a model for our own Government by those who left the Republican party two years ago, is now under investigation and apparent condemnation by the English themselves; that the British Ministry have instituted a commission to examine into the alleged abuses, and that Mr. George W. Smalley, apparently agreeing hitherto with the American admirers of the English service, now declares the belief in England to be that the civil service is worse in all the departments of the Government than it was forty years ago. Mr. Smalley gives a somewhat detailed recital of the defects and abuses alleged to exist in the English service—defects and abuses which were never attributed to our own civil service, even by its most merciless censor. My argument implied, and was intended to imply, that the Republican party had been wise in not adopting the English system, with its life tenure and its large pension list, and all the attendant evils which have at last demanded investigation by a ministerial commission."

Joseph S. Miller, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, has submitted his annual report to the Secretary of the Treasury. It is an elaborate document of 115 printed pages. The receipts from all sources of internal-revenue taxation for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1886, were $116,902,869, as compared with $112,421,121 for the year 1885, $121,590,039 for the year 1884, $144,553,344 for the year 1883, and $146,523,273 for the year 1882. The estimated expenses for the next fiscal year amount to $4,236,440, of which $1,900,000 is for salaries and expenses of collectors, $1,950,000 for salaries and expenses of revenue agents, surveyors, gaugers, storekeepers, etc., and $266,440 for salaries of officers and employees of the Commissioner's office. The number of stamps issued during the year was 550,061,029, and their value $135,112,305. The amount of taxes collected from tobacco in the last fiscal year was $27,907,362.

In his annual report of the operations of his office during the past year, Adjt.-Gen. Drum devotes some space to recommendations touching the improvement of the militia. He says: "State encampments, to be of absolute benefit, should at least be of ten days' duration, and, while established at convenient points looking to economy in the concentration of the troops, should be at a sufficient distance from the homes of the members of the command in order to overcome business and social influences which seriously affect efforts at imparting instruction and holding the men in hand for drills, target practice, guard duty, etc. Camps should be divested of every appearance of holiday character. The programme of military exercises should exclude elementary company drills, and the time of the encampment devoted to instruction and practice in skirmish and battalion drills and guard duty. As most of the fighting in the future must be done in open order, a thorough acquaintance with the skirmish drill is of the highest importance."

The Chicago packers decided on Wednesday that they had been too hasty in placing an embargo upon all members of labor organizations who might apply to them for work, and adopted a resolution rescinding the anti-organization resolution, and substituting the following: "While we will not exclude from employment the members of such organizations, we will exercise the right to employ and discharge whom we please, and conduct the business on the ten-hour plan and according to our best interests." The result was, that on Thursday many of the old men applied for work.

Mr. Barry, delegate of the Knights of Labor, on Saturday night ordered the striking Chicago packers and butchers back to work. This was in accordance with orders from Mr. Powderly, who wrote: "The Board instructs you and Carlton to settle by putting the men back at the old hours until the Order of the Knights of Labor takes definite action on the eight-hour question. If the men refuse, take their charters. We must have obedience and discipline." About 10,000 new men are at work, and that number of the old men will therefore be thrown out of employment. The old men quietly applied for work on Monday, and many of them were accepted.

The legality of the boycott is involved for the first time in Massachusetts in a trial, at Plymouth, of Peter McGough of Lynn and Wm. B. O'Keefe of Salem, both prominent Knights of Labor. An indictment against them charges that an agent of Charles Harrington & Co. was in Plymouth on June 16 selling leather, and that the defendants attempted to prevent a man from buying leather of the agent by means of threats of boycotting. Gen. Butler for the defence moved on Wednesday to quash the indictment, citing the destruction of tea in Boston harbor as a precedent for boycotting. Chief-Justice Brigham overruled Gen. Butler's motion for these reasons: "It is a principle well established that every man has a right to choose his own employees, and any interference with that right is unlawful. The right of labor to choose its own employer is no more sacred than that of the employer to buy what and of whom he chooses. It is also a principle that labor has the right to combine for the amelioration of its condition. Any man who undertakes to prevent the manufacturer from buying what or from whom he pleases, interferes with a legal right. So, if a combination of persons be made to interfere with that right, it is an unlawful combination. If the means used for interference are unlawful, there is a combination in every sense of the law. As to what means are unlawful, a combination to prevent one man from using leather made by another is a combination to an unlawful end, and, if effected by threats or intimidation, there may be a conspiracy." The jury in the case disagreed and were discharged.

President McCosh of Princeton has made a public statement, in which he says: "I hasten to express my acceptance of the explanation given by Dr. Holmes, that only two lines of his poem relate to Princeton. I have also to acknowledge the favors shown by Harvard College to me personally in the matter of a degree, and could expect nothing further. But the fact remains, that on the occasion of an important anniversary the good-will shown to other institutions all about us was withheld from Princeton, which I was invited to represent. I acknowledge that Harvard had a right to bestow its honors where it chose, but, surrounded as I am by a body of professors, carrying on original research, and printing their results for the public in books and periodicals, I thought it strange that no notice was taken of our College. I still feel that I had the same right to give expression to my feelings of indignation as Harvard had to withhold the recognition she gave to others."

Archibald Alexander Hodge, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in Princeton Theological Seminary since 1879, died on Thursday night at the age of sixty-three. Among his published works are: 'Outlines of Theology' (1860, translated into Welsh 1863), 'The Atonement' (1867), 'Commentary on the Confession of Faith' (1869), and 'Presbyterian Doctrine Briefly Stated' (1869). He had been an editor of the *Presbyterian Review*, and most influential in the counsels of his Church.

Judge Alfred Shaw, one of the organizers of the Republican party in the South, died in New Orleans on Monday.

FOREIGN.

The Bulgarian Sobranye on Wednesday formally elected, by acclamation, Prince Waldemar to succeed Alexander on the throne of that country. He is twenty-eight years of age and a son of Christian IX., King of Denmark. He is married to a daughter of the Duc de Chartres. One of his sisters is the Princess of Wales, and another the Empress of Russia, and one of his brothers is King of Greece.

The Bulgarian Regency resigned on Wednesday in order to simplify the withdrawal of Karaveloff. Stambuloff and Mutkuroff will be reëlected. The Bulgarian public received the news of Prince Waldemar's election with coldness, Alexander being the popular choice. Prince Waldemar sent a telegram to the Regents, expressing his grateful sense of the honor conferred upon him by the Sobranye in electing him Prince of Bulgaria. He stated, however, that the decision as to his acceptance rested with his father, the King of Denmark, and that other duties might prevent his assuming the rulership of Bulgaria.

The King of Denmark, in behalf of Prince Waldemar, on Friday sent a telegram to Tirnova expressing thanks for the honor conferred upon his son, but declining upon any condition to allow him to accept the throne.

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After the election of Prince Waldemar, the Austrian and German ambassadors at St. Petersburg were instructed by their governments to inquire of Russia the name of the candidate she favored as Prince Alexander's successor. If Russia refused to accept the election of Prince Waldemar or to nominate another candidate, it would be considered that she entertained designs against Bulgarian independence, and in this event England, Germany, Austria, and Italy would arrive at an understanding similar to the one that existed among them at the period of the Berlin Congress.

On Tuesday it was positively announced that Russia had designated Prince Nicholas of Mingrelia as her candidate for the throne of Bulgaria. The other Powers have unanimously approved of him as the successor to Prince Alexander, and have invited Russia to now propose a satisfactory solution of her conflict with the Bulgarian Regency. Prince Nicholas of Mingrelia was born January 4, 1847, and is Colonel and aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia. He married in 1874 the Princess Marie, daughter of Alexander Adlerberg, General and Minister of the Imperial Court of Russia, and of the Countess Catharine, *née* Paltavzoff, maid of honor of the Empress.

Count Kálnoky, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire, on Saturday made before the Delegations a declaration of the Imperial foreign policy. The tenor of his entire address was pacific. In fact, Count Kálnoky's speech was a reëcho of the sentiments lately expressed by M. Tisza, maintaining the latter's declaration that the peace of Europe was for the present assured.

Count Kálnoky's statement was as follows: Austria's interests in Bulgaria will be the maintenance of treaty rights. It is immaterial how internal affairs in Bulgaria proceed if the essentials of the Berlin Treaty are not infringed. It will be most difficult for Austria to avoid taking action during the present excitement. The importance of Gen. Kaulbars's mission has been greatly overestimated. He has succeeded in making Russian influence felt in a most disagreeable manner, but he has also evoked the sympathy of Europe for the Bulgarian people. Gen. Kaulbars, by the course he has pursued, has attained nothing which is calculated to decide the political existence of Bulgaria. In the meantime, Austria will patiently await events, abiding by the principles embraced in the declaration of Herr Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, which will remain a criterion of policy for a long time to come. If Austria is forced to interfere in order to vindicate the Berlin Treaty, the sympathy and cooperation are assured of all the Powers resolved to protect European treaties.

The London *Standard* says: "The plain English of Count Kálnoky's declaration is that Russia shall not occupy Bulgaria; if she does, she will have to reckon with Austria and England and, in case of need, with Germany." The *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* regrets the tone of Kálnoky's speech, and says: "Count Kálnoky explains Austria's views; but we have yet to learn how it is proposed to reconcile those views with an exchange of ideas calculated to produce accord, and with Russia's special position arising from the sacrifices she has made for Bulgaria. These questions belong to diplomacy, and concerning them we abstain from pronouncing judgment, in order to avoid envenoming the matter."

The *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* says that the Marquis of Salisbury's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet makes Austria responsible for the maintenance of the peace of the East. It adds: "The Emperor Francis Joseph's speech to the Delegations in Buda-Pesth on Saturday testified that he was conscious of the responsibility created by the Marquis of Salisbury making British policy dependent upon that of Austria with regard to affairs in the East. It may be hoped that the warlike note sounded in the Guildhall will be lost in the eminently pacific note struck at Buda-Pesth."

An article in the Warsaw *Gazette* has caused a sensation in Vienna. The writer warns Poland that in clinging to Austria-Hungary she leans upon a decaying empire whose miserable collapse is drawing near; that the empire will soon be partitioned as was Poland, amid the exultations of one-half the people, who are now living in grumbling discontent under the Hapsburg sceptre.

The Budget Committee of the Austrian Delegation has ratified the ordinary war budget. The War Minister, in explaining the budget, dwelt upon the speed with which the forces could be mobilized.

It is rumored at Sofia that Russia is mobilizing troops. Gen. Kaulbars has declared the trial of the Burgas plotters null and void. It is reported from Athens that the peasants of Eastern Rumelia are declaring themselves in favor of Russia, and that a civil war is imminent. Count Andrássy, in an interview on Monday with the Emperor Francis Joseph, said that he feared Count Kálnoky's speech before the Delegations on Saturday would induce Russia to fight. The Emperor replied that his opinion was to the contrary, but that while he was passionately opposed to provoking war, he fully approved Count Kálnoky's attitude on the Bulgarian question.

The impending negotiations between Sir William White, British Ambassador to Turkey, and the Porte relative to the Egyptian question will, it is now stated, be completed forthwith according to the instructions given previously to the recent French agitation for evacuation. The basis of the fresh understanding will be the joint report on the condition of Egypt, to be made by Mukhtar Pasha and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the special Turkish and English envoys respectively, who have been for some time engaged in the work of investigating Egyptian affairs. Their report will deal with the workings of the present Anglo-Turkish Convention in Egypt, and make suggestions as to how the reforms in the military, civil, and other departments of the Khedive's Government specified in the Convention can best be carried into execution.

Mr. Gladstone publishes a letter inviting the Liberals to reunite. He says: "After reading the Marquis of Salisbury's speech it seems to me that we have arrived at the testing situation for all Liberals really desiring Liberal union. We have no right to demand, when the Government have produced their plans, that they shall pursue an altered course upon them, but we have already tolerated a long delay in the production of those plans. The beginning of new delays in February will virtually be making indefinite the production of the plans. I am unable to understand how anybody promoting or inviting such delay can be said to desire the reunion of the Liberal party."

Lord Salisbury will spend Sunday at Hatfield House, in Hertfordshire, notwithstanding the demand of the Social Democratic Federation that he remain in London on that day in order to receive a deputation of unemployed workingmen.

A meeting of British Anarchists has been called to assemble in Cleveland Hall, London, on November 23, to protest against the action of the Chicago court which tried and sentenced Spies and his colleagues.

The British Parliament was to have met on Thursday, but it has been prorogued to December 9.

Sir William Hart Dyke has been appointed Governor of Hong Kong.

The Earl of Enniskillen is dead. He was seventy-nine years of age.

George Thomas Doo, a famous English engraver, is dead at the age of eighty-six.

Mr. Matthew Arnold delivered a farewell address on Friday night to the schoolmasters of the Westminster District, who presented him with a testimonial on his retirement from the office of School Inspector. He concluded by giving the teachers before him counsel, and making a reflection. The counsel was, to insist upon having a Minister of Education. The reflection was on the anxious outlook of the new times. When old influences are failing, the masses are likely to be what their teachers make them. "I find," said Mr. Arnold, "plenty of deleterious and detestable influences at work, but they are influences of the journalist in one place, in another influences of the politician, in some places both. They are not influences of teachers. The influence of elementary teachers, so far as my observation extends, is for good. It helps morality and virtue."

Mr. Phelps, United States Minister to England, delivered a lecture on Friday before the Institute of Philosophy at Edinburgh, in the course of which he said that law is a reflex of public opinion and should thus be maintained, or it would perish in a free country. Liberty, said Mr. Phelps, is not a privilege of the strong, but a protection of the weak. Nor are the rich chiefly interested in the maintenance of the rights of property. The less property a man has, the more important it is to him that it be safe. No property will be safe when once the general security that protects all alike has been lost. It is a delusion to suppose that this security can be impaired to a certain extent and preserved for the residue. There can be no middle ground. Either title to lawful property must be universally protected, or it ceases to be protected at all.

The meeting of the next Oriental Congress has been postponed until 1890.

The Vatican is preparing for publication an encyclical letter condemning and stigmatizing the Italian Government, whose policy, the letter will say, places the Pope in the power of a revolution which menaces his liberty.

Paul Bert, who died on Thursday at Tonquin, of fever, was equally famous as politician, man of science, and reformer of social institutions. He had an inherited aversion to the aristocracy and the ecclesiastical party, and when he received from Gambetta in 1881 the portfolio of Public Instruction, the Clerical party was completely nonplussed for the moment. He first entered the political arena conspicuously in 1870, and devoted himself largely to matters relating to public instruction. It was mainly through his efforts that Pasteur got a pension of 12,000 francs annually, as a reward and encouragement of his researches. M. Bert's own scientific discoveries would have sufficed to establish his fame had he never entered politics. He discovered, among other things, that the all-important lung food, oxygen, becomes a deadly poison to all living things if condensed beyond a certain degree. His volume entitled 'La Pression Barométrique' contains many new observations on the effects of altitude on health. He was elected President of the Biologic Society in 1878, to succeed Claude Bernard.

The Prussian military budget, which has just been submitted to the Bundesrath, places the regular expenditures at 267,577,000 marks, an increase of 4,226,000, and the non-recurring expenditures at 27,811,000 marks, an increase of 12,476,000, arising chiefly from the purchase of additional supplies of arms. The official census of Prussia shows a population of 28,318,458.

The Ghilzai rebels in Afghanistan have been attacked by the Afghan General sent to subdue them and badly defeated. The General sent to Cabul ten cartloads of heads of rebels killed in the battle, as a token of the victory his forces had won.

The schooner *Flying Scud*, which was seized at Halifax, has been released on the payment of a fine of $400 under protest.

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THE PRESIDENT AND THE NEWSPAPERS.

It has been said in some quarters that President Cleveland made a mistake, or committed some sort of indiscretion, in speaking as he did about the newspapers in his speech at the Harvard dinner. We have not been able to share in this view, for two reasons. One is, that the fitness of what a man says in a speech has to be measured in some degree by the way in which his audience receives it. The other is, that what the President said was true, and was called for in the interest of both political and social morality.

No man in the United States has ever addressed an audience of a better quality, as regards either intelligence or patriotism, than the President addressed on Monday week at Cambridge, and it came from all parts of the country. No part of his speech was delivered with as much feeling and emphasis as that relating to the press, and this might have been awkward for him if it had been addressed to disapproving or unsympathetic hearers. As a matter of fact, however, to no part of the speech was the response of the audience so hearty and enthusiastic. It seemed to touch an answering chord in the breast of every man in the room, and was greeted with vehement and long-protracted applause. All who were listening to him seemed to share the emotion with which he alluded to the way in which he and his family had been pursued by the news paper "ghouls." They felt for him and with him as the victim of newspaper enterprise. What such an assemblage received in such a way cannot have been a mistake of any kind. On the contrary, we need no other proof that it was the right thing said at the right time and in the right way. To have called forth from such a body of Americans such hearty condemnation of "journalism" as practised by a portion of the American press, was, indeed, a great public service.

In the second place, there is no question anywhere of the truth of what he said. Every one acknowledges this. No better illustration of it could be furnished than the fact that since he said it the worst offenders have formed a sort of Syndicate of Blackguardism, for mutual defence and support. The chief members of it are the *Sun*, the *Tribune*, the *Mail and Express* (Cyrus W. Field's paper), the *World*, and the Brooklyn *Eagle*. Every one of these has felt the Presidential lash, and is writhing under it, tough as their hides are. So they are now feeling a common shock at the indelicacy of his attack on them, and at the absurdity of his objecting to their mode of making money and gratifying their malice. As they have no one else to quote in support of their positions, they quote each other. Each says ditto to all the rest. As a general rule the press of the country recognizes the abuse of the system of news-gathering of which the President has been the victim, so that the members of the Syndicate really find nobody to cite in extenuation except the companions of their guilt. Dick acquits Tom and Harry acquits Dick, and they try to be jocose over their wretched plight. But the scandal-mongering and prying branch of journalism has none the less received a check. The public indignation over it has been long rising, and has not been assuaged by any demonstrations, however ostentatious, of its pecuniary profitableness. In fact, this indignation has been deepened thereby, and all it needed was some powerful and fearless voice, like the President's, to give it expression. The result shows what a staggering blow he delivered when he turned on them in honest human shame and wrath.

Some members of the Syndicate are now trying to bolster themselves up under the effect of James Russell Lowell's splendid tribute to the President's honesty and courage, by taking up the wretched Hawthorne business, and pretending to believe Mr. Hawthorne rather than Mr. Lowell, when Mr. Hawthorne says that Mr. Lowell knew he had come to interview him. The way they are working this matter up is really amusing as an example of depraved ingenuity. One of their assumptions is, that Mr. Lowell's refusal to furnish English gossip to the *World* himself shows that he must have meant to furnish it to Hawthorne for the *World*. There is probably nobody, whether blockhead or knave, outside the "journalistic profession," who would have the hardihood to print a bit of reasoning of this sort. Decent people in other callings, of course, see that Mr. Lowell's refusal was full notice to Hawthorne that there would be no use in trying to get out of him through an interview what he was not willing to furnish through his own pen, and a full assurance to himself that Hawthorne came to him simply as a friend. It is, therefore, corroborative evidence of the strongest kind that Hawthorne went to his house and sat at his table in disguise, and, not daring to produce his note-book, tried to remember the careless chat of an old friend, in order to convert it into journalistic "hash" and sell it to a dealer. The controversy itself deserves no further notice. But the use made of it by the Syndicate shows how true the President kept his rudder when his galley dashed in among the journalistic bumboats at Harvard.

"THE CURSE OF PATRONAGE."

The examination which Democratic politicians and organs are making into the causes of their party's defeat where it suffered reverses in the recent elections, proves to be one of the most impressive lessons as to the wisdom of civil-service reform which have yet been taught the country. A great mass of unimpeachable Democratic testimony is being collected which establishes beyond question the fact that the spoils system has been the chief cause of all their troubles. "The curse of patronage did the business," says Chauncey F. Black, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, in explaining his defeat, "and the same cause was operative all over the country, just as it was here."

The correctness of Mr. Black's diagnosis is established by the results of the election in States where the effect of the spoils policy and of the reform system has been clearly contrasted. In Massachusetts the President lived up to its professions in the treatment of public office as a public trust; in Indiana and Virginia he yielded to the demands of the politicians that places in the civil service should be treated as the rewards of partisan service. In Massachusetts the Democrats reduced the Republican plurality from 24,000 two years ago to less than 10,000, and made a net gain of two Congressmen; in Indiana and Virginia the Democrats lost their plurality of 1884 on the popular vote and almost half their Congressmen. There is no disputing the logic of such results, and honest Democratic newspapers, like the Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser*, frankly confess that they constitute a "boom for civil-service reform."

Spoilsmen who attempt to hold the President responsible for their own defeat, unwillingly bear witness to the harm which patronage has done their party. Congressman Barbour of Virginia set out the other day to saddle the blame for the result in his State upon Mr. Cleveland, and said that the trouble was that the Administration had not been Democratic enough—in other words, had not given out the offices rapidly enough to party workers. But with a delicious naïveté he immediately went on to say: "There has been another thing in Virginia operating against us. What patronage has been given out has raised up a crop of angry men. There were numerous applicants for each Federal office. The men who were disappointed have given us trouble." According to Mr. Barbour's own evidence, therefore, it was patronage itself which made the mischief, and the trouble would only have been greater if the offices had been given out more liberally.

Nobody has more forcibly stated the reasons why patronage harms a party than that uncompromising Pennsylvania Democrat, Solicitor-General Jenks, who talks in this plain-spoken fashion:

> "If all the offices in the civil service were turned over to the Democrats at one sweep, there would still be nearly as many disgruntled Democrats as now. For, even then, all the Democrats who think they are entitled to recognition could not be accommodated, and every man disappointed would be an agent of discontent. When the Republicans had the patronage of the Government at their disposal, they had the same trouble. It is simply impossible to dispense patronage to the satisfaction of the politicians. The only way to be without enemies is to be without patronage. Democrats have been opposed in elections not because patronage was sparingly or injudiciously or unfairly dispensed, but because they belong to the unfortunate party in power. In this regard it is a great misfortune to a man to be in power. A man who has no favors to give makes no enemies by giving them; but you cannot bestow favors on the few without making enemies of the many who expect and are disappointed."

This theoretical view of the matter is strikingly confirmed by the practical experience of Mr. Kleiner, an Indiana Democratic Congressman. Mr. Kleiner secured changes in all but one of the 134 post-offices in his district, expecting that his party would be delighted with his course. Instead of the universal satisfaction which he looked for, however, he found that there was no end of complaint. Mr. Kleiner thus illustrates the workings of the system:

> "Take a cross-roads post-office with a salary of $450 a year attached. There are two or three rivals in business, each keeping a little store. Each wants the post-office and makes a hot fight for it, and when the applicant who gets the largest number of residents in the vicinity to sign his petition is given the office, the others sulk and complain. They will say that the man appointed had not done as much for the party as they had respectively. The disappointed ones sympa-

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thize with each other, and get the sympathy of relatives and friends, and pretty soon the Congressman finds that he has made enemies because of an appointment that was scarcely considered worth having."

Nor were the post-offices the only source of trouble. There were numberless applicants for foreign missions, consulates, and other offices in the civil service, who thought their Congressman ought to be able to get the places for them, and who held him responsible if he failed, as he must inevitably do in most cases, since there were not offices enough to go round. Mr. Kleiner, who declined a renomination, and is thus able to speak frankly upon the subject, confesses that he has been converted to civil-service reform by his experience. "It is no wonder to me," he says, "that the House was charged with inefficiency last session. The Democratic members were kept so constantly engaged in looking after places for constituents that they had not time to give legislative subjects consideration. I know that I found it impossible to keep the run of current business. The greatest reform that we could bring about would be to free Senators and Representatives from all responsibilities as to the distribution of offices. They should not have anything to do with it."

No feature of the recent elections is more fortunate than the fact that Democrats themselves have thus been brought to see and admit "the curse of patronage." It is no longer a theory of Mugwumps that the spoils system is bad for a party; it is now the confession extorted from Democratic politicians by the results of the recent campaign. It has been demonstrated by the unanswerable logic of figures that civil-service reform "pays" as a political investment, and the spoilsmen find themselves left without any argument.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY'S VOTE.

THE impression which the first returns from the recent elections gave, that the Prohibition movement was losing ground, was entirely misleading. It now appears that instead of suffering a diminution, the Prohibitionists have made gains in nearly or quite every State in the Union in which they have a party organization. Returns of the votes for their candidates are still slow in coming to hand, but enough have been received to indicate that the vote which the party gave to St. John in 1884 has been more than doubled this year. We give in the following table the vote as it was cast in the two previous years in the principal Eastern, Middle, and Western States, together with that for this year, so far as it has been received. Most of this year's figures are semi-official and are not likely to vary much from those of the official count. Those for New York State are based upon returns received by the *Voice*, as are those for several of the Western States:

	1884.	1885.	1886.
Maine	2,160	.....	3,923
New Hampshire	1,571	.....	2,194
Vermont	1,752	.....	1,832
Massachusetts	9,923	4,714	8,160
Connecticut	2,305	.....	4,699
Total	17,711		20,808
New York	24,999	30,867	35,000
New Jersey	6,153	.....	19,579
Pennsylvania	15,283	15,046	32,422
Totals	46,435		87,001
Ohio	11,069	28,081	28,657
Indiana	3,028	.....	8,975
Illinois	12,074	.....	19,527
Michigan	18,403	13,950	35,000
Minnesota	4,684	.....	12,000
Totals	49,258	.....	104,159
Grand totals	113,404	.....	211,968

It will be seen at a glance that, with the single exception of Massachusetts, there has been an increase in every State over the vote cast for St. John. This is the severest test which can be made, for the St. John vote represented something more than prohibition sentiment. Thousands of Republicans voted for him because they could not conscientiously vote for Blaine, and could not make up their minds to vote for a Democrat. Then, too, in many States this year the Republican candidates were either openly committed to prohibition principles, or they stood upon platforms favoring the submission of the question to a popular vote. In Maine the Republican candidate was pledged to support the prohibitory laws, yet even there the Prohibition vote was nearly doubled. It was perceptibly increased in Vermont and New Hampshire, and though it fell off a little in Massachusetts from St. John's vote, it was nearly double that cast last year. In Connecticut it is more than double what it was in 1884.

In the important States of New York and New Jersey the showing of the party is a remarkable evidence of solidity and increasing strength. The figures for New York are based upon actual returns from half the counties, showing slight gains, and seeming to warrant the statement that the total vote will be two or three thousand larger than the very large vote of last year. When we consider that the only State candidates voted for in the last campaign were those for Court of Appeals Judge, and that the fact of there being a Prohibition candidate in the field was hardly recognized outside that party, this outcome is most significant. There was no dissatisfaction with the Republican candidate to account for the large vote, since Judge Daniels was known to be a Prohibitionist, whereas last year objection was made to Mr. Davenport that he was interested in a vineyard. In a very quiet State campaign, with no canvass conducted by any party, the Prohibitionists have polled over 30,000 votes, or about 5,000 more than they polled in 1884, and a few thousand more than they polled in 1885. Their party is evidently compact, and determined enough to give the Republican managers warning not to attempt at Albany this winter the passage of further legislation in the interest of "protection to Republican saloon-keepers."

The most notable figures from this part of the country, however, are those from New Jersey. The Prohibition vote there has risen from 6,153 in 1884 to 19,579 this year. A careful examination of it, which we have made by counties, shows that it is drawn almost entirely from the Republicans. Of course, so long as this loss, or anything like it, continues to be maintained, the Republicans have no hope whatever of carrying the State.

In the five Western States for which we give the figures, the gains of the Prohibitionists are uniform and very large. In an off year, in which nobody expected much of them, the Ohio Prohibitionists have cast a vote nearly three times as large as they gave St. John, and slightly larger than they cast in the exciting campaign for Governor last year. In Indiana the Prohibitionists have nearly tripled their St. John vote; in Illinois they have increased it from 12,000 to nearly 20,000; in Michigan they have made the State an uncertain one by increasing their vote from 18,000 in 1884 to 35,000 this year, and have done the same thing for Minnesota by advancing from 4,600 in 1884 to 12,000 this year.

All these figures are significant, but when we take them by sections, and then by the country at large, their real meaning becomes more apparent. The increase in New England has been comparatively slight, but it has been sufficient to make Connecticut a hopeless State for the Republicans, and Rhode Island, which we have not included in our list because it held no general election this year, a doubtful one. In the three important Middle States the Prohibition vote has advanced from 46,000 to 87,000, and has gained strength enough to make the two "pivotal" States out of the three, pretty surely Democratic in almost any kind of Presidential contest in 1888. In the West, in five States, four of which have hitherto been strongly Republican, the total Prohibition vote has more than doubled, increasing from 49,000 to 104,000, and making at least two of the Republican strongholds "doubtful" for 1888. Taking now the three groups of States together we find the total for this year to be 211,968, against 113,404 in 1884. The *Voice* estimates the total Prohibition vote in the country this year at about 325,000, against 150,000 for St. John, and the estimate is entirely reasonable. The party has, therefore, more than doubled its numbers within two years, and the gain has come mainly from the Republican ranks.

SOME FURTHER ADVICE TO WELL-MEANING PEOPLE.

WE have received several letters from supporters of the George movement, and from friends of "Labor" generally, remonstrating with us vigorously for asking them to furnish specific remedies for the evils they describe in the condition of what we suppose we must call "the working class"—for they insist on being a class—in this country. They particularly object to being asked to embody these remedies in legislative bills, and seem to think it shows a cruel and unfeeling disposition to propose such a thing, and, not only this, but incapacity for seeing the signs of the times. This latter charge is the one on which the purely philanthropic, or what some people have called the "crank," element in the George movement dwells with most relish. Some of them appear to revel in the belief that they see clearly the approach of an immense revolution, resulting in a complete reorganization of society from top to bottom, including the destruction or permanent redistribution of property, to which such wiseacres as the editor of the *Nation* are blind as bats.

With this latter class we do not argue: they are nearly all prophets. Their letters and sermons and speeches are simply predictions of wonderful things such as the world has been made familiar with by thousands of enthusiasts

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during the last twenty centuries. It is well settled that there is no use in discussing with a prophet. All you can do with him is to disbelieve him. It is sufficient for us to know that no changes have occurred in the organization of human society during the historic period, except as the result of changes in human nature; that such changes in human nature as have taken place have been but slight, and have been very slow; and that at the rate at which we are now travelling, the change which would be necessary to abolish or greatly modify the institution of property would probably take at least 2,000 years, and would consist in an elevation in human character and an improvement in the human physique such as we now only dream of, or read about in "Utopias." In fact, we shall probably never give up property, or agree to distribute property according to a man's wants, and not according to his deserts or according to the benefits he renders to the community, until every man possesses the qualities which now render the acquisition of property easy.

But we must again urge on the other and saner class, who really believe that great improvements in the condition of manual laborers are possible through legislation, the solemn duty of abandoning vague declamation, whether in the pulpit, press, or platform, about the wrongs of labor. We do not say this by way of a jeer or a sarcasm, but in most sober earnest. They know as well as we do that the assumption that every manual laborer is an intelligent and enlightened person, entirely competent to form rational opinions about his own interests and those of the State, is simply a bit of politician's humbug. They know that the working class in every large city in the Union contains a very large element of ignorance—ignorance not only of letters, but of the Constitution and the laws, and of the central ideas of American society. A very large proportion of them are foreigners, who have either had no schooling at all or had no training whatever in the art of government. They have a childlike faith in the omnipotence of Government, and a childlike belief that the Government is a kind of providence, existing apart from the community, and possessing powers and funds which it does not draw from the community. On these men the vehement suggestions of educated or half-educated orators and writers that the Legislature could, if it would, relieve them from the necessity of pleasing employers with their work, and give them a share of the luxuries enjoyed by a few rich people, with more leisure to enjoy these luxuries, and exemption from the necessity of saving for times of sickness or idleness, and from the need of paying rent and railroad fares, act most mischievously. They are already producing on the minds of workingmen the effect of stock speculation or other forms of gambling—that is, a vague expectation of easily acquired wealth and security, and the always resulting dislike of steady labor and loss of interest in the daily task, to say nothing of envy and hatred of every one who seems more fortunate than they are. We are satisfied that two-thirds of the strikes and other labor disturbances, with all their barbarizing atrocities, which are working so much injury to business, are due to the unrest produced by vague declamation of people who think themselves benefactors of the race.

We therefore most earnestly urge upon all such to buckle down now, from this day forward, to the drafting of bills to be submitted to the public and the Legislature, showing the exact manner in which they think our existing social organization can be suddenly improved. Of course, nobody will expect these drafts to be anything but rough. They will necessarily, like all first drafts, be capable of revision, but they will give us all a tolerably good idea of the manner in which those who most occupy themselves with that mysterious thing, "the labor problem," expect to solve it. Let them assume that we all agree with them in thinking that the New York Legislature or Congress ought to relieve the workingman from everything of which he now complains as to land, wages, food and clothing, and education. This done, the machinery for the new era must, of course, be provided. The State can only act through laws, and the laws must be drawn up and discussed and enacted and on a certain day put into effect through officers appointed for the purpose. If house-owners are to be compelled to part with their property and lower their rents; if employers are to be compelled to pay higher wages for less work, or to have their laborers selected for them by others; if vendors are to have their prices fixed by public authority, or rich men are to be compelled to live in small houses on plain fare, and give up horses and carriages, of course it must all be set out in black and white by statute, with the penalties for non-performance. These things cannot be accomplished by sermons or public meetings. So let us have the bills. We promise them prompt and respectful criticism, if they come from reformers or philanthropists of note.

HOW NOT TO TAX.

THE next session of Congress will be confronted with a problem that has seldom disturbed the equanimity of a legislature, viz., How Not to Tax. Former reductions of taxation have presented themselves to us in the light of expediency. There has always been some part of the public debt to which surplus revenue might be applied, so that in case of failure to repeal taxes there would not be necessarily any considerable locking up of money in the Treasury. The difficulty confronting us now lies in the fact that there will be no part of the public debt redeemable at par after the 30th of June next. Any excess of revenue over ordinary expenditures after that time must be either locked up, or expended in the purchase of bonds at such premium as the holders choose to demand.

Neither of these alternatives is likely to produce much satisfaction in the public mind. A forced locking up of money would certainly be met by a popular protest, and a perfectly justifiable one. The evils resulting from an artificial contraction of the currency would be serious enough in themselves, but they would be magnified in imagination to an unknown extent. A check would be given to all new enterprises, and everybody whose business should not be as prosperous as, in his own opinion, he might think it ought to be, would ascribe his shortages to the locking up of money by the Government. Indeed, such a state of business is quite preposterous.

But are the American people likely to view with equanimity the purchase of their own bonds at rates of premium ranging from 12 to 37 per cent.? And supposing they are, how are we to know that the holders will limit their demands to those figures when they find a purchaser in the market who is under the necessity of buying at any rate? The language of the law would seem to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase a sufficient amount to meet the annual sinking fund if there are none redeemable at par, but it is certain that when the words "purchase or payment" were used in the law, no such thing was contemplated as purchasing bonds at a premium. The object of the sinking-fund clause was to improve the public credit, to make the bonds sell well, not to make the Government pay a bonus for the privilege of retiring them. While the Secretary might, therefore, and in the absence of fresh legislation probably would, buy or offer to buy bonds sufficient for the sinking fund, say $50,000,000 per year, such action would be sure to provoke criticism, and would still come far short of meeting the exigency, far short of getting rid of the surplus money after the 30th of June next.

There can be no further dodging of the question, How Not to Tax? If the present Congress does dodge it, the President will be obliged to call the new one in extra session before midsummer. Here, we presume, is the explanation of the chuckles of the Republican politicians over the happy circumstance that they did not get a majority of the next House. If they had got such majority, they would have been obliged to frame the measures for reducing taxes. This is just the responsibility they want to avoid. Whether the taxes are taken off liquor and tobacco, or whether the reduction is made on the tariff, or both together, they want to be in a position to take advantage of any discontent growing out of the reductions. For, strange as it must appear to foreigners, the only discontent that is likely to make itself felt in the premises will be among the protected classes on the one hand, and the temperance people on the other. We are in a condition which the author of Gulliver never dreamed of, although it would have delighted him if he could have anticipated it—a condition where the only effective outcry, the only one that as yet reaches the ears of Congress, is against any reduction of taxes, and where, accordingly, political parties desire that their enemies may carry the elections.

But the exigencies of politics will not stave off the issue. It must be met, and we shall soon see a rare fight. The protectionists have reached the jumping-off place. They repealed the duties on tea and coffee twelve or fifteen years ago. There is no large source of customs revenue now that does not serve for protection to somebody. But there is one source that offers irresistible temptations, because in the first place it is large and in the second place

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the people protected by it are a good way off, viz., sugar. The duties on sugar and molasses yield about fifty millions per annum. By repealing these, the necessity of further reductions would not be obviated, but it would be much lessened. We observe with interest that one of the high-tariff associations has given a place in the discussions of the subject at its next annual meeting to be held at Pensacola, Fla., to the question, "Do the agricultural products of the South need further protection?" This is an interesting question certainly, and it might be supplemented by another, namely, "Do the agricultural productions of the North need further protection?" Is there any more need of a duty on wool than on sugar? Is there any need of a duty on rice, oranges, hemp, potatoes, codfish, lumber, coal, salt, or live animals? These questions open a fine vista for economical discussion. We trust that the Pensacola meeting will not shrink from its duty.

We presume that the attempt will be made to repeal all taxes on tobacco, except those on the imported article. It ought not to succeed. All the arguments that can support any tax, clamor for the retention of this. But if the moiety of the tobacco tax that yet remains is thrown off, there will still be a very great surplus in the Treasury. The elasticity of the revenue is so great, especially at the advent of prosperous times, that the repeal of the tobacco tax would probably not be felt as a relief one year later. There will then remain only the duties on distilled and fermented liquors and on bank notes—the latter an unconsidered trifle—in the internal-revenue system. The fertile mind of James G. Blaine anticipated this trouble some years ago when he proposed that the proceeds of the whiskey tax be distributed to the several States, but he did not go so far as to propose that the tax be repealed. The only persons in public life who have had the hardihood to advocate free whiskey are Judge Kelley and Mr. Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, in whose eyes King Alcohol has no terrors in comparison with any reduction, large or small, of the duties on imports.

The protectionist junta will probably make up their minds in the end to sacrifice the sugar planters (but not the refiners) to the necessity, which can no longer be avoided, of tax reduction. This line of policy is foreshadowed by the *Tribune*, which says that the Louisiana planters have forfeited all claims to protection by voting the Democratic ticket! But that is what Sam Randall does. Has he forfeited all claims to protection too? We shall "view with alarm" the scene in the House of Representatives when the Republican protectionists attack their Democratic allies in this ungrateful fashion. If the sugar duties are to be repealed, we are satisfied that some other duties will be repealed at the same time. Meanwhile, there is scant encouragement for the wiseacres who are "organizing a movement" for a progressive income tax, the problem of the day being How Not to Tax.

ENGLISH SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

LONDON, November 4.

AMONG the institutions to which the presence of a Conservative Ministry will give a few years more of life, the Corporation of London may probably be reckoned. Before long it may celebrate, if it is so disposed, its septcentenary. The first Mayor of London—antiquaries dispute about the matter, but they dispute about everything—is generally taken to have been Henry Fitzalwyn, who was named to the Mayoralty in the year 1189, in the reign of Richard I. Far outrunning his illustrious successor Whittington, he was Mayor twenty-four years in succession. He was not Lord Mayor, that title having first been given in the reign of Edward III., more than a century and a half later, though it did not come into general use until Richard III. found it for his interest to cultivate the affections of the city, as Shakspere has not failed to indicate. We are to have the Queen's jubilee next year. In 1889 we may have the Lord Mayor's (or the Mayor's) septcentenary. This, of course, is subject to the condition cautiously stated by an Irish member of Parliament. Eulogizing one of his colleagues, he stated that he had represented a certain Irish county for a quarter of a century, and, he added, would, he had no doubt, continue to do so for the term of his natural life, if he lived so long. The celebration of the Lord Mayor's septcentenary depends of course on the Lord Mayor, as Lord Mayor, living so long.

In the meantime, the Lord Mayor, who will enter upon his term of office on November 9, may not unnaturally have felt inclined to look for precedents not to Fitzalwyn, or to Whittington, but to Walworth. If the close of the fourteenth century had its Wat the Tyler and its Jack Straw, the close of the nineteenth century has its Hyndman and its Champion. Wat Tyler and Jack Straw did not select Lord Mayor's Day for their procession, and if Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Champion were content to "demonstrate" in Blackheath, or even in Smithfield, they probably would be allowed to do so. It will not be necessary for Sir Reginald Hanson to arm himself with Walworth's dagger. The threatened procession of the unemployed will not take place within the City of London, and it may be assumed that it will be prohibited in Westminster also. The pretext for continuing the Lord Mayor's progress for more than a few yards beyond Temple Bar, or, rather, beyond the Griffin which marks the spot where Temple Bar once stood—a more hideous memorial of a hideous predecessor—does not now exist. The new Royal Courts of Justice, whither the Lord Mayor goes to present himself to the judges, are close on the frontiers of the City, and he might reasonably be requested to keep himself within his own domain. Half the nuisance of Lord Mayor's Day would thus be abated. At present on every 9th of November free movement in the city and in Westminster is impossible; and the respectable and solvent citizen is reduced to the condition of the embarrassed Mr. Richard Swiveller, who was obliged to go half a mile into the country in order to get to the other side of the way.

Far more serious than the procession of unemployed, and far more likely to impress the minds of men as to the gravity of the social crisis, is the large number of votes polled for Mr. Henry George in the election of the Mayor of New York. The late Prof. Fawcett used earnestly to insist that, in a very near future, political parties in England would be broken up and absorbed, and that the division and conflict would be between Socialists and anti-Socialists, among the latter of which it need not be said that he ranked himself. The English Socialists do not possess among themselves any man of ascendant character, of impressive popular speech, or of that magnetic power of genius which sways the minds of men. Moreover, they are torn asunder by intestine feuds. The Socialist League, of which Mr. William Morris, the poet and artistic house-decorator, and Dr. Aveling, are the founders, has split off from the Democratic federation to which Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Champion belong; and from the Socialist League, again, the Socialist Union has severed itself.

Mr. Hyndman is a man of education and ability. He stood formerly as the Conservative candidate for Marylebone, and was one of the contributors to the *Pall Mall Gazette* when that journal was under the Tory editorship of Mr. Frederick Greenwood. He is a Cambridge man, and was a member of the New University Club in St. James's Street until his expulsion from it after the Socialist riots of last April. Mr. Hyndman was believed to be a man fairly well off, in the worldly sense. His father, he declared at a public meeting not long since, had spent more than £100,000, which his son thought might have been better employed, in building churches. A few days ago, however, an application was made to the Bloomsbury County Court for the committal of Mr. Hyndman to prison for non-compliance with an order of the Court for the payment of a debt, and his wife, after detailing their various embarrassments, stated that her husband went about the country lecturing gratuitously, that he went to dinners without paying, and that they were maintained by their friends and relatives. Mr. Hyndman, she said, contributed nothing to the support of the house; they took in lodgers, but could not pay their rent; and she had to borrow money in order to pay the servant's wages. The case was adjourned for a fortnight until it should be seen whether Mr. Hyndman could get any more remunerative employment than that of leader of the Social Democratic Federation. Mr. Hyndman has written an essay on "The Bankruptcy of India." It might have been supposed that Mrs. Hyndman and his own creditors had nearer claims upon him. His misfortunes may have been innocently incurred, and he may be deserving of sympathy rather than of reproach. But the facts are too much in harmony with the received, though often unjust, ideas as to the Conservative turned Revolutionist, and the gentleman turned agitator, to commend him to the confidence of those who have hitherto followed him.

Mr. Champion, who is supposed to be a man of fortune, was until lately an officer in the Royal Artillery, and served with distinction in the late Afghan war, but resigned his commission in order to devote himself to the Socialistic crusade. Mr. Burns, their workingman ally, is a man of imposing appearance and vigorous speech. During a recent visit to Paris, he did something to confirm the obstinate British conviction that one Englishman is more than a match for three Frenchmen, by knocking down and disabling in the streets of Paris three Frenchmen who had behaved grossly to his wife. There are limits to Mr. Burns's communism. The Parisian journals noticed with admiration *le vrai phlegme britannique* which distinguished Mr. Burns's demeanor on this trying occasion. Mr. William Morris has thought it right now and then to attend meetings in thoroughfares, and to be summoned for obstruction in the police courts; but apart from these sacrifices to the principles of anarchy and disorder, his socialism is not of the aggressive and combative kind. It does not cry aloud in the streets. His breach with the conventionalisms of wealth and culture, and his desire to be something more than "the idle singer of an idle lay," or to minister to the elegant caprices of *virtuosi* and *dilettanti*, deserve recognition as cordial as that which all the world has given to his genius. It is under-

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stood that Mr. Morris, though not much of a spouting Socialist, is not exclusively a rhyming one; and that he has arranged his business relations with those who serve him on the theoretic principles which he professes.

Mr. Hyndman and his friends are, however, the aggressive party in the socialistic campaign. Their organ is a paper of four pages called *Justice*. Their bitter hatred of rival theorists is shown in their denunciations, among others, of Mr. Auberon Herbert, the most fantastically chivalrous of men, "as the champion of the sustainment of the weak by the strong," in consequence of the doctrines of individualism which he has adopted from Mr. Herbert Spencer. A poem in the last number of *Justice*, professing to be a translation from the German by Mr. W. L. Joynt, formerly an assistant-master at Eton, who has sacrificed his career to his convictions, probably gives a sufficiently correct idea of the state of mind of the readers of *Justice* and the followers of Mr. Hyndman, and of the results that they expect. After reciting the hardships of four typical workingmen, the poem concludes:

"And Jack and George and Dick and Sam
Cry all with one accord 'God dam';
Last night, on bed of down, I deem
A rich man dreamt an evil dream."

The organized forces of Socialism are not at present very formidable in England, and there is still time for those who know that the alleged antagonism between labor and capital is mainly the antagonism between thriftlessness and idleness pretending to be labor, and the labor which has earned capital, and continues to direct it, to consider their course. Forty years ago Mr. Disraeli said that beyond all questions of party was "the condition-of-England question." That is likely to be the question of the remaining portion of the nineteenth century. Yet there is no reason to think that the Cabinet meetings now being held are considering it. Lord Randolph Churchill and the Conservative associations at Bradford, Mr. John Morley and Sir William Harcourt, and the Liberal Federation at Leeds had nothing to say about it. It has a bearing, however, not remote upon the burning political questions of the day. The great evil of our centralized system is the way in which wealth, and culture, and all that gives stimulus to life are attracted to London. Where nearly all the rich are, the poor will be also, in excess of the demands of service. Where money is too lavishly spent, people will be drawn far beyond the numbers whom such expenditure can support. Edinburgh and Dublin have, in two senses of the word, been decapitalized. If, by a proper system of local self-government, whether in the shape of national councils or statutory Parliaments, the wealth of the unproductive consumers in Scotland and Ireland was spent during half the year in Edinburgh and Dublin instead of in London, the diseased aggrandizement of London might be stayed, and Edinburgh and Dublin might be relieved of the atrophy towards which they are tending. The balance between wealth and population would be more equally adjusted. A revision of the land system, allowing the acquisition of the soil by small owners or its tenure by small occupiers, would keep in this country, in healthy occupation, men who now add to the masses of the unemployed in London. If they could profitably work, they would remain where they are. If it is a question of choosing the place in which to live in a state of poverty and semi-starvation, they prefer London, with its crowds and bustle, the faces of men, and the lights of the shops, the sweet opportunities—begging, plunder, or casual job—of the streets, the penny gaff, and other solaces of existence, to the solitude and the weariness of the fields and lanes. Home rule, in its legitimate sense, as affecting the distribution of wealth and population between the three kingdoms, is a matter of primary and urgent importance. It is not purely or mainly an Irish question. It is a condition-of-England question. On this basis, it ought to be practicable not only for Unionist and Home-Rule Liberals, but for Conservatives too, to come to some understanding which, while maintaining the authority of the Imperial Parliament within the United Kingdom, and equally in all parts of it, shall devolve functions, and in devolving functions, redistribute population and wealth, within the three kingdoms. L. L.

DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND.

LONDON, November 6.

POLITICAL speculation is preoccupied with two topics—the future of democratic society, the capabilities of federalism. Switzerland is the typical democracy of Europe, Switzerland is also the home of federal government; but politicians and jurists entirely neglect the study of Swiss institutions. The omission is to be regretted. Experience gathered from the petty squabbles of Geneva opened the eyes of Mallet du Pan to the real nature and the probable issue of the revolutionary struggles at Paris; and the idea constantly suggested by Swiss writers, that their country is a microcosm in which all the movements about to perplex the statesmanship of the great European world are anticipated and played out, rests on a foundation of substantial truth. But if the neglect of the lessons to be drawn from Swiss experience excites regret, it need not arouse any feeling of wonder. Switzerland is neither a terror to its neighbors nor is it their victim. Its prosperity evokes no alarm, nor do its troubles call forth sympathy. Innkeepers are a most respectable and, in Switzerland, it must be added, a most intelligent class of men; but a country in which innkeepers may be statesmen and statesmen be innkeepers, is not a country which, even though it boast of a traditionary Tell, captivates romantic sentiment.

The Swiss, moreover, it must be added, have with great merits always exhibited a singular incapacity for the dramatic side of public life. It is curious to compare them in this matter with Italy. The success of the movement in favor of Italian nationality was due in great measure to the dramatic instinct of the Italian people. Never was a revolution put upon the stage with such admirable good taste as was the drama of Italian liberation. Never did exiles play their part with such perfect dignity and perfect propriety as did the victims of Austria, of France, or of Bomba. Each scene was perfect in its kind. Mazzini will remain for ever the model of the patriotic conspirator. No representative of popular virtue will ever excel Garibaldi. Cavour is the admitted model of statesmanlike sagacity. Each scene in the contest for freedom was all that the most exacting of political artists could require. The siege of Rome remains to those who remember it the most effective exhibition ever exhibited on the theatre of public life. It won the heart of civilized Europe, and in the long run secured to Italy a national unity. Almost at the moment when the first efforts of the Italians to attain freedom and independence were arresting the gaze of Europe, the Swiss not only attempted but carried through with complete and lasting success the task of making themselves fully masters of their own fate, and of giving to Switzerland such a federal and democratic Constitution as was required by the wishes and the needs of the Swiss people. Swiss energy and prudence triumphed unaided over difficulties like those which in the United States were terminated only by the war of secession; and Swiss constructive statesmanship performed with success the task of constructing a new and elaborate constitution, at the very time when one country of Europe after another made failure after failure in the dangerous work of constitution-making. Yet, though Switzerland achieved almost unparalleled political successes, Europe took no interest in her fortunes. The very names of the Swiss statesmen who crushed the Sonderbund and formed the Constitution of 1848 are unknown beyond the limits of the Confederacy. Switzerland, indeed, is a small country, so also is Greece. Yet while no one's heart has ever been touched by the fortunes of modern Switzerland, the fate of Greece aroused for more than a generation the enthusiasm or the compassion of statesmen and poets. The Swiss have virtues, but they have not the talents of artists. The one scene during the last century in which the Swiss have played an impressive part was the defence of the Tuileries on the 10th of August, 1792. But the decorations and the effects were in this case provided by Frenchmen.

The lack, however, of the qualities which excite interest—a defect, which, if we may judge from history, lies deep in the Swiss character—though it accounts for public incuriosity about a people whose history and institutions are full of instruction for politicians, does not explain why it has happened that serious thinkers outside Switzerland have devoted little attention to the most singular and successful of the European experiments in democratic government. A few hasty notes by De Tocqueville, a few pages in Sir Henry Maine's 'Popular Government,' the as yet unfulfilled promise by Mr. Freeman of a history of federal government in Switzerland, are just enough to show that authors of first-rate ability know that Swiss political experience is a mine full of treasures, and also enough to make us regret that men so competent to explore the mine have chosen to leave it unworked. My aim in this letter is to point out in the most general manner some few of the difficulties which meet any student who attempts to draw from Swiss history or institutions the political teaching which, under skilful treatment, they could no doubt be made to yield. The difficulties to which I refer are not the external obstacles in the way of successful research. These, serious as they are, may all be summed up under the head of difficulty in obtaining trustworthy information with regard to the actual working of institutions which, like the *referendum*, are more or less peculiar to Switzerland. The hindrances which I have in my mind are, so to speak, of an internal nature, and have their roots in the history and the condition of the Swiss people. In another letter I shall point out some of the lessons which, in spite of the difficulty of studying Swiss institutions, may be drawn from a general view of democracy as it exists in Switzerland.

The circumstances which perplex an Englishman or an American who may wish to extract from Swiss experience inferences applicable to the politics of other countries, and especially of his own, are fourfold:

First. The smallness of the Swiss Confederacy. Swiss Cantons must be compared in size not so much with American States as with counties. The whole population of the country is considerably less than that of London, and, unless I am misinformed, is about equal to the population of Illinois. The country with which Switzerland may be fairly compared is Scotland. But whereas Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom, Switzerland is split up into twenty-two sovereign Cantons or States, each with its own separate constitution and each with its own separate character. Though the Swiss are a united people, they are a people who combine in the most singular fashion a strong sense of national

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unity with an inherent tendency towards local subdivision. In at least three instances the unity of a Canton has been found insupportable to its inhabitants, and Cantons small enough one would think in themselves have split up into half Cantons, each with its separate constitution. How can any one without the most elaborate investigation and most careful thought draw precedents, from a country so small and so peculiar as Switzerland, applicable to England, to France, or to the United States? The European traveller who lands in America soon feels that the immense size of the States vitiates or perplexes many of the inferences which American institutions suggest to a man imbued with the experience of Europe; and the critic of Swiss institutions is equally perplexed by results due to the smallness of Swiss territory and the scanty resources of the Swiss people. He finds, for example, that the highest officials are paid salaries which fall far below the income of an English barrister in tolerable practice. He infers, according to his bias, either that popular government is economical or that democracies are parsimonious. Neither inference is justifiable. The salaries paid to the judges of the Federal Tribunal correspond fairly enough with the probable gains of a leading Swiss lawyer. No one, of course, would deny that the salaries of Swiss officials are low; all that need be insisted upon is the existence, at any rate, of a plausible doubt whether the low scale on which Federal officials are remunerated has any close connection with the existence of democratic institutions.

Secondly. The basis of Swiss institutions is the *Gemeinde* or *Commune*, and no one will ever thoroughly know the strength or the character of Swiss democracy unless he realizes the powers of local self-government possessed by the *Gemeinde*. He must further realize that there is, in one sense, no such thing as Swiss citizenship. You become a Swiss citizen by being a citizen of a Canton; and though on the whole of this point I write with some hesitation, from my consciousness of the errors into which a lawyer is always liable to fall when writing about the institutions of a country not his own, no one, I venture to assert, belongs to a Swiss Canton without belonging to a definite *Gemeinde*. This fact is very noticeable; it explains the importance in Switzerland of questions connected with those mysterious persons, the *Heimathlosen*, or the "Homeless." The "homeless man" has no proper place in the Swiss democracy; by some means or other he must be given a legal home in his proper *Gemeinde*. It explains, again, why Englishmen find it specially difficult to understand the structure of Swiss institutions. In spite of our boasted self-government, the most marked feature of the English constitution is that it recognizes no local body really corresponding to the true *Gemeinde*, *Commune*, or Township. Far be it from me to detract from the historical claims of the parish to recognition, but whoever will read any description of local government as it actually exists in England, will easily make up his mind that, whatever the parish may have been in the past or may become in the future, it is not now in any essential respect like the Swiss *Gemeinde*.

Thirdly. Democracy in Switzerland is, in a most singular way, at once old and new. No one can understand the existing constitution of the Confederacy, and still less the way in which that constitution works, unless he has studied the history of the country. The position, for example, of the members of what, to use American phraseology, we may call the Senate, is hardly comprehensible without some knowledge of the position of the delegates sent by each Canton to the old Diets. The religious condition of the country, the jealousy entertained by some Cantons of others, the extreme desire of the Federal Government to avoid conflicts with the Cantons, and other matters, can hardly be understood by any one unacquainted with the historical development of Swiss nationality. It may even be maintained (and not without reason) that the present state of Switzerland can only be fully comprehended by one who studies the strange, though little understood, story of Swiss politics from the time of the French Revolution to the War of the Sonderbund. But while everything in Switzerland is in one sense the growth of historical causes, we must put side by side with this fact the equally important fact that Swiss federalism, as it now exists, is a modern creation which dates back only to 1848, and has even since that date undergone large and fundamental changes. The Swiss constitution of to-day, further, is not the development of the old Swiss Confederacy in the same sense in which the English Constitution under Queen Victoria may be considered as the development of the English Constitution as it existed under Queen Elizabeth. The political history of England is one of unbroken continuity; in the political history of Switzerland the student may see a curious instance of historical connection between the present and the past without historical continuity. Whether the old *Bund* could by any possibility have been gradually developed into a modern federal state, is extremely doubtful. In any case, such continuous development did not take place. The influence first of the French Revolutionists, next of Napoleon, broke, so to speak, the links which might otherwise have bound together ancient and modern Switzerland. Reform and innovation was connected with foreign invasion and the loss of national independence. When historians sum up the claims of Switzerland to public respect, they will give no small praise to the statesmanship and patriotism which enabled the Swiss people, after troubles spreading over fifty years, to acquire a constitution under which the country enjoys the blessings of unity, of independence, and of good government. But no one who studies Swiss institutions must forget the defects of a system which, at the end of the last century, made the Swiss welcome foreign intervention as the means of overthrowing internal misgovernment, nor the effect which the political contests of half a century must have produced on the sentiment of Swiss citizens.

Fourthly. Hence the prevalence among the Swiss people of two sentiments, neither of which is known to the citizens either of the United Kingdom or of the United States. The first of these is a kind of conservatism which resembles in character the tone prevalent among French Legitimists. The old aristocracy of Bern have lost political power, but have retained the reminiscences of political supremacy. Their wealth is decaying, their weight in the country is nothing, but they hold themselves aloof from the crowd of merchants or politicians. Nothing is left to them but the pride of race; but this pride is sufficient to prevent their taking part in a scheme of government which does not recognize the superiority conferred by ancient descent. In the country Cantons the same aristocratic feeling takes a more wholesome form, and the democracy like to be guided by men possessed of ancient historical names. In either case, you see in different forms the surviving influence or traditions of the *ancien régime*. The true effect, however, of a state of things which has passed away, is the force given to a sentiment created by opposition to bygone abuses; for the second feeling of the Swiss people which finds no parallel in England or America is the democratic passion. The idea of equality, the hatred to privilege, the whole mass of sentiment which first made itself felt at the time of the French Revolution, has nowhere produced more striking consequences than among the Swiss people. Let any one read the arguments adduced by Swiss advocates of the *referendum*, or, in other words, of the principle that every law ought to derive its authority from the direct approval of the majority of the citizens, and he will at once have some notion of the power in Switzerland of what I have called the democratic passion. It is easy to find arguments both for and against an institution which will, it may be suspected, come sooner or later into existence in every democratic state; and it is easy to see what are the sort of reasons drawn from alleged expediency with which an Englishman or an American would combat or advocate the principle of submitting every enactment to the test of popular approval. The oddity of the mode in which this matter is reasoned out by Swiss writers is, that the favorers of the *referendum* at any rate appeal almost exclusively to general, one may almost say to *a priori*, dogmas of the democratic creed. The Swiss are a hard-headed and a very practical people, but their political views are clearly under the influence of the revolutionary spirit.

Nor to any one who knows Swiss history will this appear surprising. Switzerland was, when the French Revolution broke out, more under the influence of what may, for want of a better term, be called feudal institutions than any country throughout Europe. Each Swiss Canton was, it is true, a sovereign republic; but if inequality and privilege be the special marks of the *ancien régime*, then it is no exaggeration to say that the principles of that régime flourished more luxuriantly in Switzerland than in France. The thirteen Cantons were not equal among themselves, and large parts of the country were in vassalage to one or more Cantons. Moreover, feudal supremacy meant in Switzerland gross and palpable tyranny. The exactions of Bern are still, it is said, remembered in the lands which were subject to her sway. The description given by contemporaries of the despotism exercised by the governors set over the towns of what is now Italian Switzerland, recall in miniature the exactions of Roman proconsuls in subject provinces. Nor was it only the dependent lands which had reason to complain of ill-treatment. It would be difficult, towards the end of the last century, to have found a single Swiss Canton of which an oligarchy of one kind or another had not got all the powers of the State into its exclusive possession. The town of Bern tyrannized over the rest of the Canton, and the patriciate ruled despotically over the other inhabitants of the city. There is a curious though probably accidental appropriateness in the term patriciate as applied to the Bernese oligarchy. They must have been entirely ignorant of that distinction between patricians and plebeians which was revealed to a later generation by Niebuhr; but had they mastered, by some power of prophecy, all the discoveries made by the most original among the expounders of Roman history, they could not have chosen a term which with stricter accuracy described the relation of the Bernese oligarchy to their fellow-citizens. They were in the very strictest sense a body of patricians, and a body of patricians who, with some of the virtues, exhibited in an exaggerated form the political vices of the old Roman aristocracy. If we bear these and similar facts in mind, we shall not wonder for a moment that the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people and of the natural equality of men were no sooner proclaimed in France, than they commanded the warm sympathy of every man in Switzerland who did not himself belong to some privileged class or family.

Add to this that the Swiss aristocracy died hard. Its interests were to a certain extent blended with the cause of Cantonal independence,

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or, as you would say in America, of State rights. Napoleon's act of mediation was from some points of view favorable to the power of the old families, and the overthrow of Napoleon in Switzerland as elsewhere heralded—in the triumph of reaction. The Sonderbund war itself was, like the war of secession, in some degree a struggle between democratic and anti-democratic principles. The defeat of the Sonderbund insured the triumph of democracy; but a democracy which has triumphed after an arduous contest is a very different thing from a democratic society which, as in England, has never broken with the aristocracy whose traditions and powers it inherits, or which, as in the United States, has grown up without ever needing to fight and overthrow an aristocracy already in possession of the field. The democracy of Switzerland exhibits, therefore, naturally, democratic passions or prejudices unknown to the English people on either de of the Atlantic. D.

VOLTAIRE IN SWITZERLAND.

PARIS, November 5.

MM. LUCIEN PEREY and Gaston Maugras have adopted the eighteenth century; they live in it. They have given us the correspondence of the Abbé Galiani, and published 'The Youth of Madame d'Épinay,' and the 'Latter Years of Madame d'Épinay.' They are not good critics, their erudition is sometimes at fault, they often use materials which are not their own, and, as the French proverb says, break doors which are already open. They seem to make discoveries in an unknown land, when the land has already been often visited. But we must not be too severe. They have always some "inedited documents" in their hands, and in our day a "document" covers a multitude of sins. They deal with interesting people and with an interesting time. It would seem as if there was nothing new to say on 'The Intimate Life of Voltaire at the Délices and at Ferney' (this is the title of their last volume). There is nothing mysterious in Voltaire. He lived, so to speak, in a glass house; he kept the whole world occupied with the most minute trifles of his existence, he had a hundred correspondents. We have read, however, this new volume with interest, not because the authors judged it necessary to subjoin to their title the inevitable formula, "from inedited letters and documents," but because we knew that we should find a sort of condensation of all we had read before on the subject.

Voltaire had fixed himself at Paris in 1749, after the sudden death of Madame du Châtelet. Madame de Pompadour, who was very anxious to acquire the reputation of a patron of art and literature, had obtained for him the office of *gentilhomme ordinaire* of the King's chamber, and of French historiographer. Voltaire was denounced to the King as an infidel, and soon lost his favor; he accepted the invitation of Frederick, and went to Berlin in 1750. He remained there two years, quarrelled with Maupertuis, the French President of the Academy, and wrote his satire called 'La Diatribe du Docteur Akakia, médecin du pape.' This was the origin of a quarrel with the King himself. Voltaire left Prussia under pretext of going to take the waters of Plombières for his health, carrying with him the letters which the King had written to him for three years as well as a volume of verses by Frederick. The King became alarmed, and wrote to his sister, the Margravine of Baireuth: "Voltaire is at Leipzig, where he distils new poison. . . . Many people are put to the rack who do not deserve it as much as he does." The Prussian Resident at Frankfort, Baron Freytag, arrested Voltaire, ransacked all his papers, and treated him with the greatest brutality. Voltaire never pardoned the insult which he had receved in the "free town" of Frankfort. His niece, Madame Denis, had joined him there. Frederick, to whom Voltaire had written, did not answer him, but wrote dryly to Freytag: "One must never make more noise than a thing deserves. . . . This affair must stop. Let Voltaire and his niece go wherever they please, and don't let me hear any more of them."

Voltaire was free. He visited Mannheim, where the Elector treated him with much honor; Strasbourg, Colmar, and Lyons. Meanwhile, one of his friends was looking for a house near Geneva. MM. Perey and Maugras give an interesting account of the political organization of Geneva at the time, and of the social state of the little republic. Voltaire arrived in Switzerland knowing but little on the subject. The Government of Geneva was an oligarchy, the ordinances of the republic were puritanic, and sumptuary laws regulated all the details of dress and ornament. The citizens were divided in three classes, new fashions were severely interdicted, dancing was forbidden, theatrical representations likewise. At the end of the eighteenth century Calvin's severe rules were still respected, although there were a few Genevese who had travelled in France and lived in French society. These wealthy citizens were obliged, when they came back to their native city, to renounce lace, embroidered cloth, jewels, theatres. The reaction began first in architecture. The inner arrangement of the houses had been the subject of ordinances; at the end of the eighteenth century the rich Genevese began to build houses of a new style. "We have now *portes-cochères*," said a minister of the time, "and by these will luxury come in." A fever of speculation also seized these Genevese of the new school, but the government of the Republic still belonged to the old-fashioned, frugal, and severe representatives of the old families.

Voltaire, with his niece and his secretary, Collini, arrived at Geneva on December 12, 1754. He stayed awhile at Prangins, near Nyon. The secretary Collini writes: "What are we doing in this château? 1st. We are a little *ennuyés*. 2d. We are in a worse humor than common. 3d. We work much at history. 4th. We eat little, as usual, as we wish to be sober. 5th. We philosophize as badly as in a great city, and, finally, we don't know what will become of us." Collini was an Italian, and, as you see, a sceptic.

Voltaire bought a place called Saint-Jean, which ever afterwards was called Les Délices, for the sum of 87,000 livres from M. Mallet. He immediately called himself the "Swiss Voltaire," and prided himself on "having given an *entorse* to the fundamental law of Geneva, which says that no Catholic shall breathe the air of its territory." The struggle between Voltaire and Geneva began almost immediately. He made it the object of his ambition to have a theatre. The Council expressed some fears on the subject, and the poet answered at once "that he would not allow any piece to be played in his house, before ten people, though it was full of morality and of virtue, if it displeased the company." He lived in great style, and never went to Geneva except with four horses to his carriage—a spectacle unknown in the austere republic. He drew round him a part of the Genevese society, the famous Dr. Tronchin and the members of his family, the Cramers, the Pictets, the Vernes, the Chevalier Huber, Mme. Gallatin. These Genevese were sometimes witty. Somebody spoke once to Mme. Cramer of Mme. Tronchin (she was a De Witt, the grand-niece of the pensionary) who was extremely ugly. "And Madame Tronchin, que fait-elle?" "Elle fait peur," was the answer. The Cramers were great publishers. The Chevalier Huber was a painter, who made himself famous by his clever way of cutting profiles on paper. I cannot find anywhere if there was a connection between Mme. Gallatin (who was called Gallatin Vaudenet) and the American Gallatins.

In 1755 Lekain, the great actor, made a visit to Voltaire, and the opportunity was seized of giving a private representation of "Zaïre." Madame Denis played the part of *Zaïre*, and Voltaire himself the part of *Lusignan*. Soon afterwards Voltaire had a sort of rehearsal of a new tragedy, the "Orphan of China." The consistory of Geneva became alarmed and made some objections. Voltaire did not attempt any resistance, especially as he was in great trouble at the time about some manuscript copies of his too famous 'Pucelle,' which were circulating in Paris. Voltaire denied stoutly being the author of the poem, but he could lie as boldly and as often as circumstances required. It is painful to read the letters he wrote on this subject, and the story of his difficulties with the people from whom he bought back the manuscript copies which had found their way to Geneva.

The climate of Geneva is severe in winter, and Voltaire bought a winter house near Lausanne, called Monrion. He went there first in 1755, and became acquainted with the best society of Lausanne, chiefly composed of French families which had emigrated at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The gentlemen generally took service in foreign armies, and brought back to the Canton of Vaud the habits and manners of the great capitals. The society of Lausanne was very hospitable, less austere than the society of Geneva, and Voltaire had more facilities for indulging his great taste for theatricals. He once played "Zaïre" before the famous Haller. Somebody asked the great naturalist what he thought of the play: "Well," said he, "it is the first time I ever saw people make a love appointment in order to get themselves baptized." "It is lucky," said Voltaire, "that the remark was not made in the parterre of the French Theatre; my 'Zaïre' would have been lost!"

The reputation of Dr. Tronchin attracted many people to Switzerland; among others came Madame d'Épinay, and Madame de Fontaine, who was a niece of Voltaire; Grimm joined Madame d'Épinay, and became, with her, an *intime* of the Délices. D'Alembert arrived in 1756. Voltaire presented him to all the distinguished people of Geneva and of the neighborhood. The Protestant ministers were hearty admirers of the Director of the 'Encyclopedia,' having a great leaning towards philosophical ideas; but they were much scandalized when, a year afterwards, they read the article "Geneva" in volume vii. of the 'Encyclopedia.' "Religion is there," wrote D'Alembert, "almost reduced to the adoration of one God, at least among those who are not the people. The respect for Christ and for the Scriptures is, perhaps, the only thing which distinguishes the Christianity of Geneva from pure deism." The excitement over this was great, and Voltaire hastened to leave Geneva for Lausanne. Dr. Tronchin had been charged with the mission of obtaining from D'Alembert a retractation. He entered into communication with Voltaire on the subject; but Voltaire wrote to D'Alembert: "The priests of Geneva are going to write to you. I beg you instantly to write to them, as your only answer, that you have received their letter. I assure you that with my friends I will lead them on well. *Ils boiront le calice jusqu'à la lie.*" He wrote to Tronchin: "You are not made to do the business of fools or fanatics; gain time, time, time." D'Alembert would retract nothing; the result was, that the article "Geneva" attracted the attention of the Sorbonne, and M. de Malesherbes

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was ordered to name more severe censors for the 'Encyclopedia,' and a year afterwards the privilege of the 'Encyclopedia' was withdrawn. The King of Prussia and the Empress offered to Voltaire to print the remaining volumes in their country; but distance was in those times too great a difficulty.

D'Alembert in his article had touched the question of the theatre. "They suffer no plays in Geneva; not that plays are disapproved in themselves, but they fear the love of dress, the dissipation, the immorality which comedians bring with them." Rousseau wrote in answer his "Lettre sur les Spectacles." The theatre is a mere pretext for him, in these 400 pages, which few read now. He sets forth the strangest theories on love, on women, on literature. "The dramatists are obliged to heighten the interest of love; love is the reign of women, and the reign of women is the degradation of men. Women love no art, understand none, have no genius. The theatre has the great inconvenience of bringing together the two sexes, which are by nature destined to live separately," and so on. Voltaire was much incensed at this work of Rousseau, which was very favorably received in Geneva, except by the aristocratic families, and he resolved to make a new establishment out of the territory of the Republic. He succeeded in buying the estate of Ferney, and the neighboring estate of Tournay, which belonged to the President Debrosses. He took possession of his estates in great state, like a feudal lord. He found himself at Tournay in France, and at the same time in the diocese of a foreign Bishop, the Bishop of Annecy, under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Burgundy, where he had many friends; on the frontier of the Canton of Bern and of Geneva—like a spider in the middle of his net. He felt more independent; he could laugh at his enemies in Geneva, print his books without a privilege from the King, and run in an instant from one country to another.

Correspondence.

THE DEMOCRATIC MUGWUMPS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Now that professional Democratic politicians, like the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, have had plenty of time to explain their view of the recent defection of their rank and file, it may be useful to them, and ultimately to the public, to learn the real motives of the Democratic "Mugwumps" who, in this city and State, constitute a large and increasing body. There are hundreds of Democrats in this city, and thousands throughout the State, who I have reason to know refused to vote the ticket at the late election for the same causes that influenced me. Nevertheless I will speak in the first person, for brevity's sake.

I have been a Democrat for over thirty years, for what seemed to me good reasons, viz., because I believed that, notwithstanding the numerous shortcomings of the party, it could on the whole be relied on as faithful and united on at least three immortal principles, viz.:

(1.) Commercial and all other orderly freedom to the individual.

(2.) A sound, honest currency accepted throughout our own country, and commanding credit and equality in every other.

(3.) Local self-government as guaranteed to the States by the Constitution of the United States.

There are minor approved Democratic principles, such as an honest and capable civil service, the "least possible functions of government," and so forth, respecting whose definitions there may be shades of difference; but I have always understood that those who accepted the first-named principles were Democrats, and those who did not were something else.

Now, the party which has immemorially professed these views in this State, has fallen under the dominion of a "boss" who, though he has never defined his position in any great speech, writing, or argument on these public questions, or on any other, is known by his votes and acts to be hostile to the first, and unreliable or unpronounced upon the last two. His great power in Pennsylvania has been, in short, amassed not from any practice or profession of principle whatever, but by the adroit dispensation among his vassals and henchmen of the public spoils—a collectorship to one precinct, a scrubwomanship to another—every possible fraction of patronage that could be begged or bullied from the Federal Government, retailed out where it would do the most good, not to Government or to the public, or even to the party, but to the Congressman. The conscience and intellect of the party, which cannot be bought with office or contracts, has had no attention paid it, but has seen the essential and time-honored principles of the party muzzled or traded for official patronage. How the civil-service-reform legislation has been cheated by hostile Federal officials is partly shown by the statement of the Civil-Service Reform Association of this city, recently published, respecting the thimble-rigging with examinations in the Philadelphia Post-office.

Now, some of us life-long Democrats have got tired of this betrayal, and of seeing able and distinguished Democrats proscribed for preferring principles above ephemeral success; and if our "bosses" learned from the Republican "bosses" the method of consolidating personal power by the abuse of public spoils, we also have learned from the Republican "Mugwumps"—to whom be all honor and praise for the useful lesson—how to beat them. Many Democrats refused to vote the ticket prepared by the "bosses," though the candidates, except in their subjection to the "boss," were personally unobjectionable; and we are so well satisfied with the result that next time we may improve on it by voting the whole Republican ticket, if necessary. If the President had enforced strict obedience to the civil-service-reform legislation here, as he did in Massachusetts, we could, I believe, have shown a similar result. Why he allows it to be trampled under foot here by a "Democratic" boss, who is a Democrat only in name, we cannot tell; but as the *Nation* says he means right and will ultimately accomplish it, we wait in patience, without any resentment towards him as yet. W.

Philadelphia, November 11, 1886.

PROTECTION AND PURE WATER IN PHILADELPHIA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your editorial last fall upon "The Lesson of Philadelphia" attracted much attention here, and I have been reminded of it in reading a pamphlet recently published upon "The Legal Protection of the Present Water Supply for Philadelphia." It forcibly suggests the effects of an education in the protective system, and the growth of provincialism and lack of public spirit. It is bad enough that taxes upon the whole country should be demanded in order that Philadelphia manufacturers might grow rich; but to live among them is to know that their demands in the matter of protection do not stop there. The pamphlet I refer to, prepared by a well-known member of the Philadelphia junior bar, points out the sacrifice which has been made in public health to "protect" business.

Statutes to prevent the pollution of the water supply for Philadelphia were passed in 1828, fifty-eight years ago. That the Manayunk manufacturers have been openly violating them ever since has never been questioned; but, lest business interests should suffer, the laws remained lifeless. In 1868 an attempt was made to revive them and increase their scope, but the manufacturing interests defeated it. The remedies at law and in equity for pollution are by no means ambiguous, but legal measures have never been permitted to be effective. Several resolutions at different times have been passed by Councils, directing the City Solicitor to proceed, but in each instance the resolution has been afterwards rescinded by the influence of manufacturing interests, and the gross pollution of the city's water supply by manufacturing refuse continues. They have even sought to protect themselves from a free discussion of the subject, and last year secured the passage of a resolution in Councils censuring Col. Ludlow, who was then Chief Engineer of the Water Department, and whom they have since dismissed, because he had delivered an address before a medical society upon the subject of the water-supply in relation to sanitation, in which the evil results of using polluted water were stated.

Philadelphia drinking-water has become a commonplace topic to fill in gaps in polite conversation at home, or to smooth over a Philadelphian's stiffness at meeting outsiders. But, taken more seriously, it suggests a degree of selfishness which cannot be equalled in any of the other vicious results of the protective-tariff system. Analyses of the different drinking-waters have been published, showing the amounts of the two ammonias, and taking Loch Katrine, which supplies Glasgow, as the standard, at 0.03 and 0.67 for free ammonia, respectively. They give the Croton sample at 0.99, the Thames at 0.02 and 2.33, and the Schuylkill samples at 3.13 and 4.64 respectively. It may not excite surprise that Philadelphia has never yet been able to appreciate the problem which every other city of its size and importance has long since successfully solved. Distant sources of water-supply have been secured by London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, and many smaller European cities; and by New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, and numerous smaller cities in this country. Some day this city also will perhaps awake to the importance of such a step, and the manufacturers learn that some interest besides the "protection" of business shall be considered.

The question of supplying water to large cities is one of the most difficult in the complex conditions of modern municipal existence, and the predicament in which Philadelphia finds itself teaches a valuable lesson. G.

Philadelphia, November 13, 1886.

CHEMISTRY VS. PROTECTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the very interesting address entitled "Lebensfragen," delivered by Prof. Ferdinand Cohn of Breslau before the fifty-ninth Convention of German Naturalists and Physicians—the Convention was held in Berlin on the 22d of September last—occurs the following passage:

"There is a prospect that, sooner or later, the last one of the substances which have hitherto been obtained only from particular plants, and that often with great difficulty and expense, will be synthetically produced. It is, indeed, true that those organic compounds which are of the most importance in the life of the plant, the hydro-carbons and the albuminoids, are the very ones which as yet have not permitted the monopoly of their production to be wrested from the plants. From an economic point of view, this is certainly unfortunate; for, from the day on which chemistry shall succeed in doing what the simplest algæ and mosses are able to do—namely, in producing starch from carbonic acid

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and water—the bread problem, which is in fact the first of all social problems, will be solved. As long as we are confined to the cultivation of cereals, a limited area will suffice to support only a limited population; but of carbonic acid and water there is enough to furnish bread for an indefinitely large number of human beings. Further, when once the artificial production of the hydro-carbons has been accomplished, it is a much smaller step to make albumen by combination of these with nitrogen; so that it will then be easy to produce artificial milk and meat. Then will all *Nahrungssorge*, all struggle for existence and all the social evil which is connected with the struggle, be suddenly at an end. Let us hope that organic chemistry may soon succeed in bringing on the golden age, by learning from the plants the secret of their process for making starch, sugar, and albumen out of air and water."

Certainly we can all join in this hope. It is pleasant, also, to hear from so distinguished an authority that this hoped-for triumph of chemistry is not a mere chimerical dream, but a scientific problem which there is a "prospect" ("Es lässt sich voraussehen," are the speaker's words) of actually solving in the future. It would seem, however, that Prof. Cohn, as a sociologist, has allowed the wings of his imagination to carry him too fast and too far. Probably no product of the laboratory will ever excel air and water in respect of cheapness and abundance; and yet the procuring of these commodities in sufficient quantity and of good quality involves a struggle which is constantly driving the weakest to the wall in great numbers, and the aggregate effects of which are terrible to contemplate. And, again, in this portion of the world, at least, we certainly have good reason to expect that, when the chemists shall have succeeded with their laboratory milk and bacon, Congress will quickly lay a tax upon the product so as to "protect" the raisers of cows and hogs.

Yours respectfully, C. T.

Ann Arbor, Mich., November 9, 1886.

LET THE REPORTER BE NAMED.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The apology made for "journalism" by the professors of that art is that it is "demanded by the people." It is true these gentlemen are capital friends of the majority doctrine; indeed, they carry it to such an extent that, *ex uno plures*, out of a noisy minority they are often able to construct the public at large. But if they are right in the point, not only should they have all the advantages of their credit with either faction, but they ought also to satisfy the full faculties of their readers. No one is so beclapped as the author of a popular drama bowing over his own footlights; the artists and romancers of the daily press are modester than they themselves would be willing to admit. Those who peruse, for such is the term, a lively political descant, a well-blown scandal, a genteel disquisition on some unoffending person's private affairs, would surely experience much greater gusto did they know something of the author of their entertainment.

In view of these considerations, I propose that each newspaper shall conspicuously publish a daily list of its reporters, with brief notes upon the individual genius of each: whether college-bred or self-made; whether orthodox or agnostic; whether utilitarian, humanitarian, a satirist, or simply a brilliant man of letters. All articles of major importance being signed by their projectors, the delighted reader would then be at no pains to trace the circumstances at the origin of each trait of style or imagination. I need only commend to the logic of managing-editors the famous syllogism that who drives fat oxen should himself be fat. And surely to know that the gentleman who brought to public notice the President's late inhuman conduct on the occasion of the funeral of a near relative—it is true the story was directly proved false, but that does not vitiate the example—to know that this gentleman was an urbane, keen-sighted blonde, American in all his feelings, intimate with all the leaders of national thought, intolerant of foreign cynicism and luxury, a realist in literature, a true sympathizer with labor, a fond brother and son, an affectionate friend in all private relations, would be to see Sheridan brought on after the first act of the "School for Scandal," or Molière acknowledging the thunders of applause which greeted "The Misanthrope."

I am in hopes that this suggestion may not be without its weight in certain quarters. I might well elaborate further, but to a critical and cultured taste the advantages are so nice and obvious that I am positive I need not.

I am, sir, etc., T. W.

Philadelphia, November 12, 1886.

WHAT DO CONGREGATIONALISTS BELIEVE?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: "K.'s" effort (through the *Nation* of November 4) to refute my claim that Congregationalists do not believe "those who have never known the teachings of Christ" are necessarily beyond hope, seems to me somewhat unsuccessful. Evidently he is no Congregationalist, and is only slightly acquainted with Congregational views; hence he makes three noteworthy mistakes, which, for the sake of brevity, even at the risk of seeming impoliteness, I will answer by denials.

I. A "confession of faith" was *not* adopted by a Congregational "conference in 1865 held in Boston." The "elders and messengers of the Congregational churches" there were careful to avoid that. Their "*Declaration* of Faith" was an informal and general statement of their personal beliefs at that time.

II. "The common laws of veracity" do *not* require those "Elders and messengers," or any other Congregationalists, either individually or collectively, to "repudiate" or "rescind" that "Declaration," or to admit that it expresses their "present belief." They used the present, not the future tense, and doubtless used it truthfully. Non-Congregationalists often speak of "*the* Congregational Church." There is no such collective national body. Congregational "churches" are independent bodies, united by an elastic system of mutual recognition and coöperation. Each local church formulates its own creed.

The householders of "K.'s" ward in Hartford would be just as much bound by "the common laws of veracity" to admit or to deny that they are Mormons if the householders there had said in 1865 that *they* were Mormons, as Congregationalists are now bound to endorse or repudiate the "Declaration" of those Boston gentlemen.

III. The Boston "Declaration" does not commit even its *authors* to the Westminster dogmas quoted by "K." For—

(1.) The name of "Westminster" was not in it.

(2.) It affirmed its authors' "adherence to the faith and order" of the fathers "substantially" as set forth in platforms of 1648 and 1680, while those platforms affirmed agreement, "in substance" only, with the "Westminster Confession."

(If Cleveland should affirm his agreement, "substantially," with Monroe in his views of government, and if Monroe had said his ideas were "in substance" those of Jefferson, would "K." insist that Cleveland had thereby endorsed every political expression of Jefferson's?)

(3.) In the discussion at Boston in 1865 Prof. Park said: "We can say . . . *not* that we swallow the entire Westminster catechism in every angle of it, but the great body of the doctrine." President Sturtevant said: "There is language in *every one* of those old standards which not a *man* on this floor receives," and "not a man" disputed the President's words! And what words were so universally repudiated? None more so than the very words quoted by "K."

But a national council *has* expressed dissatisfaction with all the old platforms. It was done at St. Louis in 1880. That council also provided for a committee of twenty-five to frame a new Confession of Faith and to publish it for the assistance of local churches. Twenty-two members of that committee published one creed, while Secretary Alden of the American Board and Prof. Karr of Hartford issued another, but neither indicated the least approach to the offensive dogmas quoted by "K."

Prof. George P. Fisher, no unknown or "mean" Congregationalist, declared only two years ago that "the old Protestant view adopted by the Reformers (except Zwingli), that all the heathen . . . perish, is *no longer held*." If, however, any one still thinks that the Congregationalists do hold it, let him name among its supporters:

(1.) One living Congregational theological seminary.

(2.) One living Congregational theological professor.

(3.) One living Congregational paper, or

(4.) One living Congregational minister of any note.

If he cannot do *one* of these four things, would it not be well to "repudiate," or to avoid making, that charge against "Congregationalists"?

L. F. Parker.

Iowa City, November 8, 1886.

THE MADISON POST-OFFICE AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: "Reformer," in your issue of October 14, uses my name as former Postmaster of Madison in connection with that of Louis C. Helm—a discharged clerk. Permit me to say that Mr. Helm was transferred from the "General Delivery" to be chief of carriers on account of his faithfulness and fitness for the place, and for his zeal during many years to do his duty as an employee at the Post-office; and not to appease any clamors, which I never heard. As a box clerk and letter-carrier, I have always thought that for expedition and correctness he had no superior. Long years of service made him a valuable public servant. He served faithfully in the army in Col. Wm. F. Vilas's regiment, and nearly twenty years in the Post-office. He was discharged from that service because he was a Republican and his place was wanted by a Democrat.

George E. Bryant.

Madison, Wis., November 12, 1886.

THE MILWAUKEE ELECTIONS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of November 4, you seem to have gathered the impression that the labor movement in this city and State was solely an organized attempt to defeat Gov. Rusk for re-election, as a rebuke to him for his conduct during the riots in this city last May.

It is undoubtedly true that the labor vote was cast solidly against the Governor, but it seems to have been so cast more as a "showing of hands" than with any idea of being able by its agency to defeat the Republican candidate. Both the Democratic and Republican parties nominated full State tickets on platforms which were equally pronounced against the socialistic demonstrations in this city last spring. The Labor party immediately put a full ticket of its own in the field, this ticket receiving a support about equal

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to the Prohibitionists', and, drawing as it did alike from both the old parties, could not hope to conduce materially to the defeat of Gov. Rusk.

In the Fourth (Milwaukee) Congressional District, however, the Labor party entered the field with a positive and determined purpose of effecting something more than a simple protest against the action of the constituted authorities last May. This district is composed of the city and county of Milwaukee, and is the most important in the State. It was also the scene of the May riots. The Democrats nominated Mr. John Black, who, by reason of his acting as foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted the leaders of the riot, was as much a representative of law and order as Gov. Rusk, and was quite as obnoxious to the leaders of the People's party. The Republicans made a nomination of their own, and the People's party nominated Mr. Henry Smith, a Socialist, and also a full county ticket. As the leaders of the labor movement were more or less outspoken Socialists, several of them having been indicted for complicity in the riots, and were conducting the campaign with the avowed purpose of punishing Mr. Black for his action as grand-juryman, it was fondly hoped that their following would be confined to those in strict sympathy with the riotous proceedings of last spring, and that the conservative and property-holding Knights of Labor and Union men would divide as of old upon the old party issues. The result of last Tuesday showed this hope to be an egregiously fallacious one. Not only did they succeed in defeating Mr. Black, but they elected their member of Congress and their whole county ticket, by majorities ranging from thirty-five hundred to four thousand, together with several Assemblymen and one State Senator. Out of a total vote of about thirty-two thousand, they cast thirteen thousand and over.

The result was not only a surprise to the managers of both parties, but, to those who remembered the troubles of last spring, a matter of grave solicitude. This anxiety is not found in the *personnel* of the newly elected officers. They seem to be perfectly honest, and several of them more than ordinarily intelligent. It is the possible result of the new movement that creates alarm. The fact that foreign socialistic and communistic elements have been able to use the whip of a great secret society to drive intelligent workingmen to join them in presenting a solid front against the action of the authorities, is considered ominous and significant. The most superficial student of our form of republican government cannot fail to see that the entrance of powerful secret organizations into politics upon a class issue is vitally dangerous to our institutions. Killing as it does the individuality of the man and the responsibility of the voter, it is the worst of all abuses into which popular suffrage can fall. Yet the eradication of old party lines and the raising of the class issue, dangerous and unrepublican as they are, seem to be the natural and inevitable result should the labor movement continue and spread. In this city it is already an accomplished fact. Party lines are broken down, and Democrats and Republicans will unite in selecting and electing suitable judges and municipal officers.

There are two positively beneficial results from last Tuesday's election. First, the creditable fact that the People's ticket was elected with little or no expense and an assessment per candidate of (it is said) but fifteen dollars will, it is hoped, enable us in the future to nominate candidates without reference to their financial ability to stand the drains of a canvass. Second, it has awakened the conservative, intelligent, non-caucus-going portion of our citizens to the fact that in a government based on popular suffrage, political apathy is a sin of omission of the gravest character, which will inevitably recoil upon themselves.

Yours truly,

BRADLEY G. SCHLEY.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., November 7, 1886.

THE DECAY OF NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the copy of the *Nation* for November 4 is an article on the decay of New England churches. This article contains a good deal of sense and information, but there is a question whether some of the facts are not stated in so dramatic a manner as to be misleading.

In regard to the old churches, there are many things which are to be deplored; but a statement of all the facts in many cases shows that, when an old church on the hill has fallen into ruins, a new one in the valley has taken its place.

In the article, the "dreadful example" is illustrated by the story of the church at "The Kingdom," in the town of Plymouth, Vt. I have been thoroughly acquainted with that place for nearly half of the eighty years since the church was built, and have never heard of the creeping in of the "doctrinal differences." In the beginning the building was called a "union church," and the ownership was divided among a number of denominations, even the Quakers coming in for a share and having a right to use the church at least one Sunday in each year.

Now, there are three things to be considered: First. "The Kingdom" is in the corner of the town, and villages have grown up in surrounding towns. In these villages are churches which would naturally accommodate those sections formerly represented in that old church. It was filled only when people came to it from a section which must have had a radius of six or seven miles. "The hamlet" described never was large; to-day there are only four dwelling-houses within half a mile of the church, and there were never more than a dozen.

Secondly. The population of Plymouth is now about eight hundred. Railroads built through adjoining towns have caused those towns to draw from Plymouth about one-third of the former population.

Thirdly. The "Plymouth Congregational Church," which formerly occupied the old church building on the hill, has for several years had regular services at Tyson, which is in the valley and within two miles of the old building. This society is now raising money to build a church, and a building will probably be erected within a year.

There is, it is true, in the town a second church building which is seldom used, but there is a small place near that at which services are frequently held.

Every man who is interested in the religious or even the moral standing of New England must regret to see churches deserted; but he has no right to vote the people of certain sections barbarians before he inquires whether physical reasons have not made changes, and also whether new churches have not taken the place of the old ones.

INHABITANT.

TYSON, VT., November 8, 1886.

THE BUCHHOLZ FAMILY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Personal observation leads me to doubt whether the reviewer in your number for November 4 is right in saying that middle-class Germans recognize in 'Die Familie Buchholz' a perfect likeness, if not of themselves, at least of their neighbors. Last winter in Berlin I talked about Dr. Stinde's sketches to a number of people who apparently belonged to nearly the same social class as Frau Wilhelmine Buchholz and Dr. Wrenzchen. Many of these people would not admit that such characters as Frau Buchholz and her friends existed in Berlin at all. As for taking them as common types of Berlin women—as did the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—they were as loth to do that as most Americans are to accept Daisy Miller as a type of the average American girl. We must remember that Stinde does not represent Frau Buchholz as uneducated. She uses tolerably good grammar, does not confuse her *mir* and *mich*, and is even severe on others who make such mistakes. The extraordinary amount of Berlin slang that she utters seems to me incredible. It sounds as if Stinde had made a glossary of such expressions and were trying to see how many he could get in on a page. On the whole, I can hardly account for the popularity of Stinde's sketches except by his undeniable humor, which is none the less enjoyable if he does, like Dickens, introduce us to vulgar people.

H. M. C.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., November 7, 1886.

HORSESHOE CRABS IN THE PACIFIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of October 28 a book entitled 'Our New Alaska' is reviewed. At one point the reviewer states that "he is somewhat puzzled by reference to a 'horseshoe crab,' as it seems as if a *Limulus* was intended, and we believe that genus has not been reported by naturalists, as yet, from those waters." Last summer the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* contained a notice of the capture of a horseshoe crab in the Pacific, and remarked on the discovery. I remember cutting out the notice and sending it to Dr. Samuel Lockwood of Freehold, N. J., who has made a special study of *Limulus*.

Very respectfully, H. W. TURNER.

SAN FRANCISCO, November 4, 1886.

EVIL EFFECTS OF THE *NATION*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Others are constantly sounding the praises of the *Nation*. Will you let me tell you the injury it has done me? It brought me to vote for Mr. Tilden in 1876, and thereby strained a friendship existing for years, from boyhood to manhood. Forced to farming by ill-health, I became through its teachings ambitious to do more than dig holes in the same old routine without thought, and thereby caused my neighbors to make me uncomfortable, since I endeavored to stir them up. As a bookseller I read and studied the *Nation*, and because I followed its teaching I failed to satisfy my public, and therefore failed financially. In both these cases if I had had capital I might have won in the end, I admit.

As a teacher—my proper place—it is for ever stirring me up and making me dissatisfied with myself, and prevents my resting as I otherwise would.

By teaching free trade and Mugwumpery it makes me lonely, living as I do in interior Pennsylvania.

Finally, it leads me to buy and read more good books than my pocket and eyes permit.

Knowing it was high time some one found fault, I do it.—Respectfully, X. Y. Z.

NOVEMBER 11, 1886.

Notes.

THE prospectus of *Scribner's Magazine* for the coming year embraces a series of characteristic unpublished letters from Thack-

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eray, unsurpassed in autobiographic value, we are told, which will be accompanied by fresh facsimiles of his drawings. We remark, also, ex-Minister Washburne's Reminiscences of the Siege and Commune of Paris; Gouverneur Morris's pictures of social life in France at the Time of the French Revolution, as contained in the unpublished letters and papers of the then United States Minister to France; and a contemporary description of early New York and New England society by a brilliant girl of the period. The provision made for fiction includes Robert Louis Stevenson, H. C. Bunner, "J. S. of Dale" (F. J. Stimson), Harold Frederic, Joel Chandler Harris, T. A. Janvier, Prof. Boyesen, Miss Jewett, "Octave Thanet," and others. Special articles are promised by Gen. F. A. Walker on Socialism; by Dr. William Hayes Ward, on Babylonian Seal-Cylinders; by John C. Ropes, on Cæsar; by Capt. F. V. Greene, on Coast Defence, etc., etc.

We are glad to note the fact that all impediments to the resumption of the publication of Dr. Gould's *Astronomical Journal* are at last removed, and to welcome the initial number of the seventh volume, which made its appearance within a fortnight. The *Journal* will aim at the promotion of harmony and coöperation among astronomers, laboring for a common end, but will also afford opportunity for the expression of differences of opinion, founded on research. The publication of an article is consequently not to be understood as implying an endorsement of the views which it may express, or of the accuracy of its statements—a proviso which the editor well makes, as the *pièce de résistance* of No. 1 is the product of the pen of a worthy computer whom the higher analysis has confessedly led astray. Other articles relate to observations of variable stars, comets, and the eclipse of 1886. We congratulate Dr. Gould on the kindly assurances of approbation and welcome which have come in abundance from both sides of the Atlantic, and are glad to believe that there is no apparent reason why the resumption of the *Journal* may not now be regarded as permanent.

W. B. Clarke & Carruth, Boston, agents of the Appalachian Mountain Club, have now for sale the republished number one of the first volume of *Appalachia*.

Mr. Thomas Stevens's diary of his tour around the world on a bicycle remains the most interesting feature of the eighth volume of *Outing*. Yachting, by sail and steam, in American and in British waters, occupies a large space, and this branch of outdoor occupation is reinforced by tales of blockade-runners and of shipwreck. Rowing comes in for a small share; horseback riding, angling, mountain-climbing (and in this we may include the papers on the pursuit of Geronimo), ranch life and game shooting in the West (by Mr. Roosevelt), receive some attention. Bicycling has two papers of circumstance, but is no longer the chief end and aim of this diversified and well illustrated magazine.

In emulation rather of more recent French color-printing than of the ordinary English annual, the Christmas *Puck*, to appear the last week in November, will have illustrations scattered through its pages printed in varying tints.

Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co, in a letter to *Science* for November 12, report that, as publishers of geographies and atlases, they felt it incumbent on them to settle the question of the ultimate source of the Mississippi. They accordingly despatched an expedition to Lake Itasca, which has made a thorough exploration of that body of water and Elk Lake, with their tributaries, noting drainage areas and elevations. The publishers in question are already convinced that they have exploded the baseless figment of a "Lake Glazier."

The Catalogue of the fourth part of the great American library of the late George Brinley is before us, announcing the sale during this week at the rooms of Geo. A. Leavitt & Co., 787 Broadway. It embraces collections in denominational theology, in law and government and political economy, in poetry, in the drama, in science and art, in education, with a department of masonry and anti-masonry, another of slavery and the negro, and a third of almanacs, etc. The bound volumes of pamphlets under all these heads are incomparably rich. We can only mention a few epoch-making works: the first edition of Jonathan Edwards on the Will; the fourth American edition of Thomas Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and the first edition of his 'Age of Reason'; the first edition of Webster's Dictionary; the first edition of Wm. Morgan's 'Illustrations of Masonry'; the first and second editions of David Walker's 'Appeal, with a Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World'; Garrison's 'Thoughts on Colonization'; the first edition of the 'Book of Mormon.' There is a fine array of Mathers (Richard, Increase, and Cotton); the first edition of Anne Bradstreet's Poems; the colored astronomer Banneker's letter to Jefferson, elicited by the latter's 'Notes on Virginia' (as was also Walker's 'Appeal'); Motley's romance of 'Merrymount'; E. A. Poe's 'Conchologist's First Book,' etc., etc. It is easy to foresee the contest which will take place over these sections of Mr. Brinley's library, of which the numbers nearly reach 2,000.

Roberts Bros., Boston, will put on the American market the Life of Susanna Wesley lately reviewed by us.

'Harvard: the First American University,' by George Gary Bush, Ph.D., is in the press of Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston. It will be appropriately illustrated.

A translation of Laveleye's 'Balkan Peninsula,' lately reviewed in these columns, is announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons; also, nearly ready, 'The Recollections of a Private Soldier in the Army of the Potomac,' by Frank Wilkeson.

The fourth part of Prof. F. J. Child's 'English and Scottish Popular Ballads' is on the eve of being published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., who have also under way 'The Heart of the Weed,' an anonymous volume of poems, and 'The Golden Justice,' by Wm. Henry Bishop, known already as a serial story to readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Mathematical physicists will be interested in the announcement by Macmillan of a work on elementary dynamics by the Rev. J. B. Lock, to be ready next year, and of a more advanced treatise on kinematics and dynamics by Prof. J. G. MacGregor of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

A novel in Mr. Cable's field, entitled 'Towards the Gulf,' and said to be by a new writer, will shortly be published by Harper & Bros.

The second extra volume of the Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science is announced to be a 'History of the Government of Philadelphia,' by Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose of the Philadelphia bar. It closes with what the authors call the Reform Act of 1885, by which a new and more liberal charter was bestowed upon the city.

Among the forthcoming publications of the Clarendon Press is Boswell's Johnson, with the 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,' edited with copious notes, index, etchings, and facsimiles, by George Birkbeck Hill. Dr. Hill's book about Dr. Johnson's friends leads us to hope that we shall have at last what has long been wanted—an edition of Boswell with all the further information the reader needs, no more and no less. It is not a little surprising that Boswell's Johnson, which has been more overedited than perhaps any other biography ever written, has not yet found its final editor, in whom knowledge, exactness, and taste must be combined.

Among the books about the stage in preparation are Mrs. Kennard's Life of Mrs. Siddons (in the "Famous Women Series"), Mr. James Anderson's autobiography, and Mr. William Winter's critical sketch of Mr. Lawrence Barrett's career. It is also understood that Mr. Joseph Jefferson is engaged in writing his reminiscences, and his example is to be followed by Mr. Dion Boucicault and by Mrs. Bancroft (Miss Marie Wilton).

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. publish, under the title 'The Great Debate,' the discussions at the Des Moines meeting of the American Board on the question of future probation as affecting missions. To us the most notable speech is that of Dr. Ward, in its frank admission of a departure of the entire Church from the position of the founders of the Board, in its incisive showing that the whole debate was over a difference not as to fact but as to theory about a fact, and in its bold contention for liberty of thought within the Church. The most striking personality revealed in the discussion is that of the venerable President of the Board, Dr. Hopkins, whose serene strength of character and suave shrewdness of speech won unanimous approval for a policy to which at first the majority were bitterly opposed.

Mr. Washington Gladden collects, under the name 'Applied Christianity' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), six papers of his, first published in the *Century*, together with the address on "The Wage-Workers and the Churches," which he delivered before the Interdenominational Congress last December, and two added essays entitled "Is Labor a Commodity?" and "Christianity and Social Science." Dr. Gladden has long been conspicuous among clergymen for a sort of anticipatory sense of "burning questions." He was one of the first to introduce the discussion of the labor movement into the pulpit. We understand that some of his methods are regarded by ministerial brethren as irregular and undignified. Indeed, a staid Doctor of Divinity has declared that his plan of inviting the young men of Columbus to state their reasons for non-attendance at church, and his trying to find out the facts about the separation of the workingmen from the churches by actually asking the workingmen themselves, were "just like a newspaper reporter." On the other hand, Dr. Gladden can certainly point to growing public appreciation as a sufficient endorsement of his practical turn.

Mr. F. Donaldson, jr.'s 'Two Comedies; An Ill Wind, An Abject Apology' (Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.), are rather scenes than plays. They represent fashionable love-making, and the special quality aimed at seems to be brightness in the dialogue. It is unfortunate that the wit is for the most part a matter of quotation. This is realistic, no doubt; but it was not Congreve's way. The structure of the scenes, as a whole, is so simple, however, that the action might carry them off very well if it were excellent. As literature, they can claim no higher rank than fragments of a novelette, cleverly arranged in a quasi-dramatic form.

In the latest issue of "The Book-Lover's Library," 'Old Cookery Books and Ancient Cuisine' (George J. Coombes), Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt has gathered an amount of information respecting the food of our ancestors and their habits in taking it, much more multifarious than is suggested by the title of the volume. The work is, in a sense, a bibliographical guide to the literature of the subjects, and is amply illustrated by quotations from that literature; but it contains also a brief view of the larder and kitchen, and the gastronomic prejudices of different ages, a history of the additions to the national bill of fare for lords, gentry, and yeomanry, descriptions

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of various notable feasts, of utensils, of successive fashions and reforms, with much material that could not be set down under a heading. It is very agreeable and suggestive reading, and conduces to a feeling of satisfaction that one was born in the age of modern conveniences, and after the race had made the better acquaintance of the edibles of the planet and had outgrown the first crudities of culinary combination. The anecdotes tend to show how very recent are the modes of our own table. It was after Shakspere's death that Coryat was nicknamed *furcifer* because of adopting the Italian custom of the fork; and in the middle of the last century the old Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton ate at the head of the table from one plate, according to their life-habit.

Mr. Alden Sampson has printed an address delivered by him before the Association of the Haverford Alumni, at Haverford College, last June, on 'Milton's Sonnets' (New York: The De Vinne Press). It exhibits an understanding of the nature of poetry of the highest order, a sensibility to the severer charm of verse, and an altogether uncommon respect for Milton's epic in its wholeness, which argue a high power of criticism as well as genuine poetic cultivation in the writer. The subject is a peculiarly difficult one to treat, but we enjoy the pamphlet as much in its excursuses and its *obiter dicta* as when it keeps strictly to its theme. The spirit of the address is something wholly exceptional in current criticism, and reminds us that there is still a "remnant" which has not altogether fallen silent in the court of the muses.

In Mrs. Clara Erskine Clement's 'Stories of Art and Artists' (Ticknor & Co.) the "stories" are the traditional ones—the gossipy legends which make so formidable a part of the literature of art. Here may be read how Dibutades of Sicyon first modelled a profile in clay, in filling up his daughter's burnt-stick outline of her lover's features, how Callirhoe married her lover, and how he became a famous artist. Here is the tale of Zeuxis and his magnificences, and his contest with Parrhasius, and here the usual chat about Apelles and his sayings. Here is related how Aëtion's picture of the "Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana" was taken to Rome, and how "Raphael sketched one of his finest compositions from it," though how "it" came to be preserved until the year 1500 or so is not related. Here it is set forth that the two colossal groups of the Monte Cavallo at Rome "are said to be the united work of Phidias and Praxiteles," but the whimsical absurdity of that ascription is not hinted at. The youthful reader is informed that Torso "is a term used in sculpture to denote a mutilated figure." As to the pictures in this part of the book, although they are of all sorts and sizes and styles of work, they are not bad, each by each, and it is especially to be noted that the Laocoon is given with the more reasonable restoration of the right arm instead of the common one; though this is not mentioned in the text. But it is pretty hard on the youthful student of the past to be told that the "Biga" of the Vatican, with its modern horses and modern wheels and nothing antique about it but the late Roman body, which was once an arm-chair, is a specimen of "the most ancient form of Greek chariot." No doubt the more modern artists are more judiciously treated, the legends about them being one shade more probable and more easily understood by a modern. But it remains a fact that collection rather than selection is the make of the book, and that there is nothing of the author's own added to these promiscuous scissorings.

Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' (Ticknor & Co.), printed by the University Press, with a handsome, broad page, would be a pleasing edition of the much-loved poem, but that it has been shorn of the notes. The notes, nevertheless, are a part of it. Direct from the hand of the Walter Scott of 1805, thirty-four years old, and as hot about Border antiquities as about poetry, they are needed for the local color. One might as well leave the minstrel out, and begin the poem with

"The feast was over in Branksome Tower."

As for the illustrations, the costumes and armor can be looked at without a shudder, "admitting," as Mr. Ruskin says, "question of right and wrong." The little peeps of landscape are not so bad. It is only when the case is really a difficult one, as in the course of the hostile knights in the third canto (p. 83), that the action becomes impossible; and only when the action is varied and vigorous, as in the appearance of Deloraine in the lists, that dramatic propriety is badly violated.

The powerfully drawn story of Gloucester fisher life which Miss Elizabeth Stuart Phelps published in the Christmas *Harper's* last year, under the sensational title of "The Madonna of the Tubs," has been issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. in the form of a gift book, with forty-three original illustrations by Ross Turner and George H. Clements. The illustrations are rude and sketchy, and without character; but the most has been made of them in embellishing the volume.

Three more issues in "Cassell's National Library" are characteristic of its editing—"Macbeth"; 'Early Australian Voyages,' by Pelsart, Tasman, and Dampier; and a second instalment of Pepys's Diary.

Many a man not a doctor may profit and be pleased by Dr. Fothergill's 'Manual of Dietetics' (Wm. Wood & Co.), which is animated in style and abundant in information. His views on alcohol are those of a *bon vivant*, tempered with knowledge, and he admits that it is a feat of judgment to use it without abuse. In our opinion sins of omission with that agent are more easily condoned than those of commission. Some of his dicta are sufficiently surprising to tend to incredulity rather than to prompt acceptance, the more since proof seems impossible. For instance: "All the bloodshed caused by the warlike ambition of Napoleon is as nothing compared to the myriads of persons who have sunk into their graves from a misplaced confidence in the food value of beef tea" (p. 52). That is not cheerful reading for the average family, and will at least weaken faith in what is almost a household god. The volume is attractive, as this author's works always are, but it is of hasty construction, and shows internal evidence, beyond its dedication to an eminent New York physician, of preparation with American readers especially in view. There are some pseudo-Americanisms, as if out of compliment to the popular taste, that are not successful imitations. The book has no index, which is simply an outrage, and it has but the most meagre table of contents.

Dr. Lauder Brunton, one of the first physicians in England, has assembled in a copiously indexed volume his lectures and other papers prepared within the last twelve years on 'Disorders of Digestion' (Macmillan). A man can transfer to his comrades neither his tact nor his talent, but he can expose his treasures of knowledge, and in this way Dr. Brunton has put the faculty seriously in debt to him.

'Insomnia and Other Disorders of Sleep,' by Dr. Henry M. Lyman (Chicago: W. T. Keener), is a medical book whose matter and style carry it into the higher grades of literature. It represents thought and knowledge, and to students interested in psychical research the last half of the book should be useful and attractive. The first half is limited in its adaptability to practising physicians.

M. Ernest Quentin-Bauchart has recently published two large octavo volumes, entitled 'Les Femmes bibliophiles en France, seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles' (Paris: Librairie Damascène Morgand). Of the 160 *femmes bibliophiles* of whom the writer describes the libraries, the tastes, and habits, the characters, and, with more or less detail, relates the lives, only one, a certain Madeleine Renard, was a plebeian; all the others were very great ladies, or princesses of royal birth, or queens—*reines de la main droite* or *reines de la main gauche*. The volumes which once made up these precious collections are now destroyed or scattered over Europe in public or private libraries, but the author has gathered them together again in his pages. Sometimes he relates the discoveries he has made in his search through little-frequented collections, as when he tells of the copy of the 'Office de la divine Providence,' which he found at Châlons-sur-Marne, with the royal arms that once adorned it defaced, but containing upon one of its leaves the last lines written by Marie Antoinette: "Ce 16 Octobre à 4 h. ½ du matin: Mon Dieu! ayez pitié de moi! Mes yeux n'ont plus de larmes pour prier pour vous mes pauvres enfans. Adieu, adieu! Marie Antoinette."

'The Book of Fortune' (Paris: Librairie de *L'Art*) consists of 200 drawings unpublished till they appeared in that periodical. In M. Ludovic Lalanne's introduction a detailed account is given of the manuscript upon which the book is based, and which lies in the library of the Institute in Paris. The drawings are accompanied by explanatory verses and a Latin title, which sets forth that this is the "Book of Fortune, one hundred Emblems and one hundred Symbols, with their *Partitiones*, Tetrastichs, and Distichs, and many Evidences and varied Explanations"; also, that it is published—but though the MS. was already for the printer, it seems as if it had never been put into his hands. That the drawings are by Jean Cousin is not proved, but shown to be very probable. That they are extremely interesting, as one more specimen of sixteenth-century book-illustration, cannot be denied. We can only regret that some pages were not given in actual facsimile. As it is, the original drawings were traced by M. Drouot, and the tracings photo-lithographed, so that the verses in different languages are left out, and given only in prose translations of them in the Introduction. The local color is gone, and the pages do not smack of old Paris as we would have them.

Sir Robert Ball, Astronomer Royal of Ireland, in a communication to the Royal Irish Academy, publishes a calculation of the total quantity of heat received by each hemisphere of the earth during the summer and winter throughout the period of the varying eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which has convinced him that Mr. Croll's theory affords adequate explanation of the ice age.

At the opening meeting of the Liverpool Astronomical Society, the 11th of October, no less than eighty-eight candidates were up for election as members, of whom forty-three were from North and South America. The Society elected Profs. Asaph Hall and Simon Newcomb to be honorary associates. The Society was founded in 1881, and is now said to number 300 members.

—The Boston Public Latin School Association have published, as the work of many laborious years, a Catalogue of that School with an historical sketch by the Rev. Henry F. Jenks. It makes an octavo pamphlet of nearly 550 pages, most scrupulously edited and printed, and illustrated with portraits and views. Such a catalogue suggests a college, by its very bulk, and its appearance on the eve of Harvard's recent great anni-

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versary was a just and happy coincidence. The School is a little older than the college, was its first feeder, and has remained if not the chief, at least one of the most copious and important. Its list of pupils embraces the names of Cotton Mather, Franklin, Sir William Pepperell, Admiral Isaac Coffin, Gen. Henry Knox, Robert Treat Paine, Hancock, Sam. Adams, Harrison Gray Otis, Robert C. Winthrop, Edward Everett, Charles Francis Adams, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, J. L. Motley, W. M. Evarts, R. W. Emerson, Wm. H. Furness, Henry Ward Beecher, and many another light in law, divinity, letters, and politics. Its eighteen headmasters in two hundred and fifty years have averaged fourteen years of service—a term much surpassed in fact, since one master died the year of his appointment. Ezekiel Cheever, for example, author of a Latin Accidence which had a prodigious vogue and reputation for two centuries, held the office for thirty-seven years, and several of his successors for more than twenty. The School has produced many of its own masters, perfecting them generally by way of Harvard. Both Cheever and his predecessor, Daniel Maude, were educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, like John Harvard. Unlike college catalogues, this one lists the names of all who entered as well as graduated. With incredible diligence, whether one regards the early and more conjectural periods, or the more voluminous later, the editors have traced, so far as they were able, every individual, giving his occupation, honors, and date of death. The historical sketch is very ample, minute, and readable; there are numerous appendices. In short, the work is worthy of the oldest school in America. A year ago, in noticing the commemorative discourse of Dr. Phillips Brooks, we called attention to the breach in the traditions of the School, by which it had ceased to be a fashionable resort, and which we dated back some thirty years. After 1855, in fact, the connection of the successive classes with those that have gone before steadily diminishes—so far, at least, as this is indicated in foot-notes by the editors. We have not observed a single relationship of grandson; sons are infrequent; brothers are tolerably abundant.

— Every effort toward the invention or discovery of new optical glass cannot fail to be of the greatest interest to the physicist, the astronomer, and, in fact to all who use lenses as instruments of research. It is well known that, in the case of the refracting telescope, a limit is set to its size through the failure of the flint and crown lenses of the objective to make an image free from color. The blue light of what is termed the secondary spectrum becomes, in the larger telescopes, so excessive that, with a lens of about forty inches diameter, it more than counterbalances the advantages otherwise derived from the increased size of the objective. If we can discover a glass whose inherent property of dispersion shall correct what is known as irrationality of dispersion, the problem of a perfectly achromatic objective will be solved. Physicists in both Great Britain and America have sought to do this through the medium of a third lens for correcting the residual dispersion of the crown and flint; but within the last few years, Prof. Abbé of Jena has been systematically conducting a series of researches with a view to the discovery of new kinds of glass, whose dispersive powers would not involve the ordinary defects. The research involved the examination of the properties, optical, chemical, and physical, of all substances which may enter into glass-construction, and was begun early in the year 1881 by Prof. Abbé, and his coadjutor, Dr. Schott. The solution of the problem was first attempted from a chemical standpoint, and a series of fundamental facts in chemical optics was the first result of the experiments. These were then used as the basis for the production of actual glass possessing the necessary hardness, permanency, and freedom from color. As the result of these researches, theoretical and experimental, object glasses of a very high degree of achromatism have been produced, and a series of new glasses of graduated dispersive properties are now available to opticians generally. In so far as these new glasses have been practically tested, the advantages relate to improvements in microscope objectives, wherein much finer definition is said to have been obtained, and, among other advantages, the optical and photographic foci are practically identical. If the new glasses prove to have all the properties claimed for them, and it is found that no obstacles arise to the production of very large disks, the optical limit to the size of refracting telescopes will be practically removed, and the problem of the largest telescope will be reduced to one of mechanics simply. It is worthy of note that these researches in glass-construction have been made possible only through very liberal grants on the part of the Prussian Government.

THE TIMES OF EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA.—I.

The English Dramatists. Edited by A. H. Bullen, B.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885-86.

WHEN we are coming to the group of English dramatists of nearly three hundred years ago, as, lately, to find Marlowe, and, by and by, one Middleton, among them, we bethink ourselves that our meeting with these people of the earlier time is much like any of Dante's meetings with some one of his flitting companies of unsubstantial beings in another world. Most of these writers are unknown altogether, even by name, except to a few, in this world from which they went out; and, indeed, only good scholars in our English easily recall bare names of any of them, with nothing else. There are no lovely airy visions of pure and tender, or holy, heroic, noble women, wives, or mothers, of their imagining; nor are there any such visions of higher manhood, and better, floating or fixed in our memories, or made into a part of our life and experience. There are few dear, few well-remembered lines or words of theirs in common use or treasured with the riches of our tongue; and the few that have come down to us have come from scarcely one or two among these writers. Something of Marlowe, had Shakspere never quoted from him, would not have been forgotten; something or other of Ben Jonson is known, for its own sake, or for its author's, or for some one else's sake; but, of the rest, though we may rehearse a list of them, how many can recall a character from a play? a scene? a word? Scholars in English may speak of them by their several names, and of their writings severally; but how few these scholars are!—and this, although the men wrote in our own every-day tongue, and sometimes wrote strongly, sometimes tenderly, sometimes gracefully and with beauty, often moving to laughter, and often to honest laughter, sometimes to good deeds. The men, moreover, made a considerable part of the literature of their times, and furnished entertainment for lettered and unlettered minds and hearts, old and young, and helped to form them.

One man's works, of all that were written by them all, grow better known and come more into the thought and life of reading and thinking people as time goes on; but the fact that Shakspere lived and wrote plays and acted at the same time with these play-writers and actors does not help the others. It only makes comparison of them with him the easier, and the more to their loss. They all stood much upon one footing—they with him and he with them—until he had risen in men's thought above the rest. Afterwards they were all hopelessly below him. The higher he has risen the more he has drawn our eyes away from them. A few hundred copies of their works are sent forth, from time to time, by the press; but a few hundred are enough for all the readers. To most eyes the forgetfulness is very thick which stands about and over the many that are gone, and hides them all

Those writers, like the writers of any time and of all time, had, of course, human nature to work out of—the greatness of it, the lovingness of it, the loftiness, the lowliness, the daring, the woe, the fun, the baseness; so much of it as they could occupy or possess or could reach to. They had way to the common store-rooms of material—so many as they had keys to unlock. They had histories; they had a knowledge of manners and customs—the πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄστεα καὶ νόον; they had tales of travels and adventures and escapes; they had stories of happenings and seeings and witches and bewitchings and angels and devils. Even the old myths—the family handing-down, fancied, guessed, imagined, remembered—of the great races, if not made over straight into English, had come into it by some roundabout way, through other tongues. If they had not a hundredth part of the history that we have, or a hundredth part of the tales and stories, they were hardly the worse for the want; for what they had was incomparably more picturesque and more stirring to the fancy than all or any of what has taken its place to us. To set them on to work they had in them, of course, so much, more or less, of thought, tirelessly swelling and stirring, and of the strong and restless feeling that men have who live stories and write them. To draw those earlier writers out and to reward them they had, in the women and in most other men, that same waiting, wishful love of what is fanciful and imaginative and of what had been gathered up in memory—the stuff of tales and of history—to which all that is best was always sung or written. This same longing has drawn out and listened to and repaid all the makers and singers and tellers of all the ages of men.

They had also as many hindrances as most of those who write for others. If they were players, too, their handicraft or profession hampered them. Troops of actors, strolling, had a traditional ill name and suspicion hanging about them, brought down all the way from fifteen or sixteen centuries before. They had turned up out of the darkness as trilobites turned up alive from deep-sea dredgings, the self-same old trilobites, after having been taken for extinct by our good friends in science. After long disappearance, bands of actors came to outer day afresh, and the strollers showed themselves strollers right over again, after their kind, just such as the Greeks used to be in the Roman provinces. Even the fixed companies of English players, which often took in the "poets," bore a name a little smirched. Queen Elizabeth and her next follower were fond of pageants and shows and plays, and gave encouragement to players. The city, too, for the masques and processions of its great days or for some work in letters, sought one or other of the poets. On the other hand, many of the craft tried hard to have the world which they were living in as much set free from the every-day conditions of real life as that of the stage, and in some ways which others did not like so well; for these ways were often bad for the peace of families and for men who must have back their honest money to turn it.

The players were a lively set in their day, most of them, and so were most of the "poets" or

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play-makers with them. Sometimes they were in trouble—one, or more, or all—sometimes out of it; generally under great patronage, but liable to be forgotten or abandoned at need; and others' need might mean hard things for them. Charles the First, as Herbert, who was "Master of the Revels," tells us, did not know that there was such a thing as a "Yeoman of the Revels." In that case no one was the worse for it; but Charles's way through life shows that it was easy for him to forget a greater man than any of his players or play-writers could well claim to be; and this when the forgetting might be very costly to the man forgotten. The patron's interest and the clients', the master's and the servants', might not always be the same. Then the stronger made the weaker take the consequences.

As a help to the understanding of the growth and making of the English drama, we may have leave, perhaps, to remind our readers what sort of times the players and play-makers whom we are handling lived in, and what sort of men they lived among; for, in some things, the world then was very different from that which we make part of. Authority, in those days, in the household, in the state, in the city—everywhere where any had it, or had any part of it—was used masterfully: it was personal, always, everywhere. Whosoever bore a sword, bore it not in vain, but found downright work for it, and allowed no time or room for whining or whimpering. Everybody under authority of any kind was, as far as possible, looked after and followed up; and that pretty sternly and hardly, for the most part. Privileges, too, were strongly set, were alive in every part, and ever watching, with a wakefulness that neither dozed, nor winked, nor looked away. Upper ranks and classes, as well as the uppermost, felt a right to be secure; as if rank, born to and begotten to, with leave to do whatever it found to do and had strength for, were inherent in human nature itself. The holders of rank or place were bound, by the having of it, to make sure that providence was plainly seen, pretty often, in its working on the side of divine right; this was one of their privileges, and it was the one duty that they felt most urgent.

Doubtless many whom authority, with or without trial, punished in those days were wicked people, and got only what they ought to get; but its machinery of infliction worked, with a fearful oiliness and glibness, on whoever happened to be just under it. If it caught many reeking murderers and made them give life for life, if it dragged many high-handed robbers to the gallows, it also laid hold on many a man who had uttered silly words, and speedily left him with no breath to make into words again. It went cheerfully about, putting out the fitful lives of "sturdy and valiant beggars," "whole and mighty in body," for the third offence of asking food for their felonious bellies. For a first and second offence of that sort, it whipped the wretches on the bare back, at the cart's tail, and slit or cropped their ears. It also often worked as summarily and fatally on the outside of all processes of law as within them. These were its ways; and what a risky thing writing or speaking might be! It must be added that in those days, as in days that have been lighted by later suns, there were sometimes back doors, open or shut, as need might be; there were loopholes sometimes; there were sometimes befriendings; sometimes there were even relentings; there were ways of escape and nooks of shelter which now and then saved, even when authority was hot after a victim.

Into this world of England, such as it was a generation or two before, and changing slowly, had—figuratively—come fleeing out of the church-doors, with bag and baggage, the earlier English actors of plays. The mysteries and miracle plays, which, under the Church's auspices, had given to the multitude, at the times of the great festivals, their spectacle, with dialogue and drama (and farce, too), had become very much worn out, and partly had been secularized, and partly had given ground to such and so much of secular plays as men of that time could make and the men of that time could like. Very little authorship was wanted for these unshaped and skill-less things, except what grew on the spot, out of the moment. That world was changing only slowly. In Elizabeth's time it had not changed much, though it was changing. So in the time of James it seemed the same, though the change was going on, and had really gone far. When the Church had turned players and playing out from within its walls, the actors banded themselves together to ply their handicraft (which took in the writing of plays) as best they might.

HOLIDAY BOOKS.

Reynard the Fox, after the German Version of Goethe by Thomas James Arnold, Esq. With sixty illustrations from the designs of Wilhelm von Kaulbach, and twelve India proof engravings by Joseph Wolf. Boston: Roberts Bros. 4to, pp. xxvii-342.

Sonnets from the Portuguese. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Illustrated by Ludvig Sandoë Ipsen. Boston: Ticknor & Co. Oblong folio, 90 pp., illustrations and text.

Dora. By Alfred Tennyson. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1887. Sm. 4to, 31 pp.

A Mother's Song. By Mary D. Brine. Illustrated by Miss C. A. Northam. Cassell & Co. Sm. 4to, pp. 60.

THE ancient and popular story of the Fox and his wiles, of untraceable antiquity and endless variety of form, was put into shape by Goethe during the stormy times of 1792-93, when his family and social arrangements were overturned by invasion, when all the future was cloudy and uncertain, and he was naturally led to satirical expression of his contempt for mankind. The illustrations which the elder Kaulbach made for his 'Reineke Fuchs' were in accordance with its character. The creatures are rather human than beastlike and birdlike, though of a repulsive humanity indeed. Such designs, where beasts and birds are made to think and act as men, are apt to be ugly enough; but these are offensive even beyond the common run. The engravings were made by Rudolph Rahn and Adrian Schleich; they were smooth and sleek in the fashion of German engravings of fifty years ago, and in 1846 they appeared in a stately quarto with the text of the poem. Mr. Arnold's translation, in rhymed ten-syllable couplets, is nearly twice as long as his original, and is written in an off-hand, informal language, with free use of popular and even slang terms, well enough adapted to the subject; but much of this, and even very many of the remarks, the allusions, the sayings, the details, find no authority in the German poem. The English version appears to have been published in 1855, with a long introductory letter to John Smith Mansfield, Esq. It must have found readers, to be revived now, though it is hard to imagine any one finding pleasure in the dreary tale of court intrigue, brutal tyranny, the triumph of falsehood, and the sufferings of all the innocent creatures under a régime of mere club law, all in a setting of coarse jocularity. It is hard to imagine any one enjoying this, even if we can imagine any one failing to be repelled by the Kaulbach pictures. They have been revised a little, in reduction by wood engraving. Two or three of the most cynical have been left out: in one case a very comical alteration has been made in the interest of conventional propriety. But the greater number are unchanged, and twenty-five years of acquaintance with the originals does not make these reproductions seem any less repugnant, despite a certain power. The engravings by different artists after Joseph Wolf are not very interesting. The designs are not what one expects of that accomplished animal painter; if they appeared in 1855, they were of his early time, and their lack of interest may be so accounted for.

The 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' is a novelty, and very different from the Christmas books or picture books of the year or of the lustrum. It has almost no pictures, in the ordinary sense, but is as profusely adorned as it is possible to imagine a book adorned without color. Text and decorations have all been engraved together, apparently upon stone, in a way once more common than it is now, and printed on heavy paper of a very beautiful surface, not too lustrous, in brown ink of a pleasant tone. The page measures 13x15 inches; each one of the forty-four sonnets has a page to itself, is engraved in capital letters of a picturesque and well-chosen form, and is surrounded by a broad and rich bordering of a design which is nowhere repeated. To each sonnet is allowed a title-page, so to speak, on which the words "Seventh Sonnet" or the like are bordered with a circular design corresponding with the larger frame of the sonnet over page. The general title nearly corresponds, and this is preceded by a page on which is a portrait of Mrs. Browning in a roundel and on a background of laurel leaves. The uniformity of appearance, the same handiwork, arrangement, and color throughout is certainly a beauty, so far as it goes. The careful mounting of the heavy leaves *sur onglets* is an attention shown the book which inspires the student of it with respect. The fact that no two of the compositions are at all alike is a still greater charm; and one is brought to conclude that the work which has been so seriously done and so lavishly presented is worthy of a good deal of respect.

And so it is, if judged by any ordinary standard. If, for instance, we consider the sculptured decoration which an ambitious architect now and then finds means of adding to a building, then we find Mr. Ipsen's semblances of sculpture better than most of them; or, if we think of designs in metal work, then such a border as this of the twelfth sonnet, which suggests a grating of leafage in bronze, is worthy of a high place among them; or, if we recall book decoration in conventionalized leafage and the like, of which there has been a good deal of late years, then the borders of the seventh and twenty-seventh sonnets and of their titles seem very respectable, indeed. In fact, there is little contemporary decorative work so good. It is especially worthy of notice that by far the greater number of these designs are of no well-known and admitted style of decoration: they are not Renaissance (except one or two), nor Mediæval, nor (except one) Moresque, nor even Japanese. But it is easier to design well in an admitted style, which one has studied himself into and made a part of his existence, than thus in no style at all. We admire even tolerable work that seems independent of all styles; and we should admire Mr. Ipsen's work very much indeed if it were only a little more varied and free. These borders are too exactly balanced, the corners are turned too accurately, the rosettes are too precisely alike. One is reminded of the Viennese carpets copied from Eastern ones, very near in color and with flowers copied carefully, but the flowers are all exactly alike, the colors are uniform from end to end, and each corner has a leaf fitted neatly in, so that the border mitres exactly: peculiarities which are never found in Orient-

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al work. The designs before us err in this way. Even the letters are too much alike. That is a pretty E that has been chosen from sixteenth-century work or designed new; but why should all the E's be the same? Even in printing with movable type a dozen forms of M or S will be found in a single book of the sixteenth century. And in hand-work—engraving or pen-work—the designer ought to revel in the chance of varying the forms of his letters.

'Dora' is an idyl of the sort which should lend itself well to illustration. Randolph Caldecott, Charles Keene, some artist who had studied the English farmer and laborer, village and countryside, would have made a charming thing of a little series of pictures to the gentle, tranquil, rather vague and feeble, but still genuine, poem. Mr. W. L. Taylor's illustrations do not seem to us full of English rural life: they are perfunctory; the smockfrocks and other costumes may pass, but the setting is not characteristic. The pictures are not uninteresting, even if there is a deal of false drawing in them. Dora standing on Mary's threshold, with the poor interior dimly seen through the doorway, is as pretty a bit as needs be. With it should be contrasted the large cut of William's quarrel with his father, where there is nothing that can be praised. The value of most of the illustrations lies between these two.

It is hard to award a place in literature to such very domestic and very maternal verses as these of Mrs. Brine's:

"Gayly the robin his morning song sings,
Pluming and stretching his feathers and wings;

O! many the beautiful things that I see,
But fairest of all things is baby to me!"

And these, when the baby goes astray in the fields—

"Yonder I see her, my own straying lammie,
Sun-kissed and breeze-blown; the bright tangled curls,
Crowned with the blossoms and leaves she nas gathered,
This queen of all blossoms, my dearest of girls."

These are fair average specimens of the poem in question. The illustrations are easier to criticise. The seven full-page cuts are printed in black ink in the usual fashion, and are very sweet and refined compositions of no great originality of conception. The child who figures in them all is a very real and solid one; she is always alone with the landscape or with her playthings, until she is kissed "good-night" at last. We know her better from the pictures than from the verse, and we like her very much. The pages of text are "flourished around" with little scraps and sketches from nature, printed in the palest gray, not important nor very well drawn, but enclosing two or three little pictures in black which are sweet and dainty, and as many that are less good. But, on the whole, it is the pictures that save the book and make it worth buying and giving.

RECENT MATHEMATICAL WORKS.

Nos. 3 and 4 complete the eighth volume of the *American Journal of Mathematics*. It is alike difficult and unnecessary to characterize their contents in terms intelligible to the general reader. Its articles are mile-stones in the path of progress in the mathematical science of the nineteenth century. For the benefit of those whose training and pursuits fit them to understand the journal, and who, if any such there be, have not yet become subscribers, we will mention two or three articles.

Ten lectures on the theory of reciprocants by the former editor of the *Journal*, Prof. J. J. Sylvester, form the chief ornament of No. 3. A paper by Charlotte Angas Scott, of Bryn Mawr College, affords sufficient evidence that the female intellect is at least competent to treat questions which many a worthy college professor of the male sex might without shame confess were beyond his depth. The name of M. H. Poincaré is well known to the readers of foreign mathematical journals. A paper by him, in the French language, "Sur les Fonctions Abéliennes," is well adapted to those who seek recreation in the integral calculus, and occupies the larger part of No. 4. But the paper which, if we mistake not, will attract the widest attention, because of its practical bearing, is a "Generalized Theory of the Combination of Observations so as to Obtain the Best Result." It will be especially interesting to those who have read Mr. T. W. Wright's 'Treatise on the Adjustment of Observations,' which was reviewed in the *Nation* about a year ago.

When last year we noticed briefly the first volume of the third edition of Prof. G. M. Minchin's 'Treatise on Statics' (Clarendon Press Series, Macmillan), we ventured to predict that when the second and concluding volume of the work appeared, we should probably have the most complete and satisfactory treatise on statics in the English language. The second volume is now before us, and it not only justifies our prediction, but the limitation to the English language may, perhaps, be removed. The words "revised and enlarged" on the title-page have a more than ordinary significance. In its details and general plan it has been greatly changed for the better, and that is saying a great deal for a work on so abstruse a subject, the excellence of which had already enabled it to pass through two editions. To no mathematical treatise in the English language can the epithet "lucid" be more fitly applied. It is also fully up to date, so that we might justly add to its title: "A Résumé of what Men Knew of the Equilibrium of Physical Forces at the Beginning of the Year 1886." It presupposes an acquaintance with the highest branches of pure mathematics, especially the calculus, and one chapter (chap. xiv, vol. ii) will be intelligible only to those who have some knowledge of Quaternions. For those who have not the necessary preparation and yet wish to acquire a knowledge of the more essential parts of the science of statics, a little treatise of 270 pages, 12mo, by John Greaves, Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of Christ's College, Cambridge (Macmillan), is well suited. It is constructed with special reference to Prof. Minchin's great treatise.

The name of Peirce still holds a high place in the list of American mathematicians. The latest contribution of the family to mathematical science comes from Prof. B. O. Peirce of Harvard, and is entitled 'Elements of the Theory of the Newtonian Potential Function' (Ginn & Co.). It treats, much more fully than would be inferred from its title, of the mathematical theory of attraction. The Professor says in his preface: "Although I have used freely the notation of the calculus, I have assumed on the part of the reader only an elementary knowledge of its principles." An examination of the work leads us to infer that "elementary knowledge" means considerably more at Harvard than it does at most colleges. The last chapter of the book applies the theory of attraction to the subject of Electrostatics. Although brief, it forms a very good introduction to the mathematical theory of a subject the importance of which is daily increasing.

Those who desire "information relating to the practical details of a magnetic survey" from one having extensive theoretical knowledge and great practical experience, will find it in a 12mo of 90 pages, by Prof. Francis E. Nipper of Washington University, entitled 'Theory of Magnetic Measurements' (D. Van Nostrand).

'Euclid Revised,' by R. C. J. Nixon, is one of the Clarendon Press Series. The original 'Euclid' is much altered, and there are many additions intended to illustrate modern methods. Some of these additions are very interesting, but, after all, the book has something of the appearance of patch-work. We presume Mr. Nixon did not avowedly write a treatise on geometry, because the English are so devoted to Euclid that the appearance of his name on the title-page seems indispensable to the success of such a treatise.

Mr. George Bruce Halsted, late Instructor in Post-Graduate Mathematics at Princeton and now Professor of Mathematics in the University of Texas, has published a treatise on the 'Elements of Geometry' (John Wiley & Son). In 1881, while at Princeton, Mr. Halsted published a treatise on mensuration, which was reviewed with some severity in the *Nation*. The defects pointed out as existing in that treatise appear in a somewhat milder form in the present one. Terms "new and strange," new and sometimes queer definitions of old terms, old truths uttered in new forms, and other peculiarities which we have no room to specify, give the book an air of awkwardness and clumsiness which will draw away the attention of readers from its real merits. To give a single example, how could any mathematician, with the least sense of scientific elegance and symmetry, read, without smiling aloud, the following definition of a straight line (p. 9)?

"A *straight line* is a line which pierces space evenly, so that a piece of space from along one side of it will fit any side of any other portion."

The material form of the book is equally awkward and clumsy. Its giant size would lead one who only looked at its outside to infer that it must be a most extensive and exhaustive treatise. It is really no longer than ordinary text-books of geometry. The paper is very heavy and rather coarse, so that, thick as it is, it only contains 366 pages. The margins at the top and bottom of the page are of extraordinary width; the front margin is rather narrow.

We would not have our readers infer that Mr. Halsted is lacking in knowledge of his subject, or that his book does not substantially contain all that is desirable in a treatise on elementary geometry. His treatise on mensuration, his articles in the *Journal of Mathematics*, and the present treatise on geometry, give evidence of wide reading, of enthusiasm in the science, and of many qualities necessary to a successful teacher.

Prof. G. A. Wentworth of Phillips Exeter Academy has added to his series of text-books one on the 'Elements of Analytic Geometry' (Ginn & Co.). It is a small book, but contains quite as much as the most earnest professor will be able, with any profit, to force a class to go over in the time usually allotted to the study in those colleges which make it obligatory on all undergraduates. Its most marked characteristic is the astonishing number of examples. The treatise extends to only 221 pages, 12mo, yet it requires 26 pages inserted at the end, to record the answers only.

Quite a different book is an 'Elementary Coördinate Geometry,' by William Benjamin Smith, Professor of Physics Missouri State University (Ginn & Co.). From the title we inferred that this was only another text-book on analytic geometry, added to the multitude which have appeared in the last few years, and probably neither much better nor much worse than the rest. The motto on the title-page, "Maximum reasoning, minimum reckoning," with its double alliteration and slightly pretentious savor, did not promise favorably. But the concluding clause of a sentence near the end of the preface arrested our attention; it was, "determinants have been used freely." That certainly indicated something out of the ordinary run. Turning to the "Introduction," we found it consisted entirely of an exposition of the nature and

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most essential properties of determinants. It concludes as follows:

"Under the hands of English and Continental masters, the Theory of Determinants has been of late years built up to colossal size and applied to almost every branch of mathematics; in fact, it has become well-nigh indispensable to higher research. An excellent English work is Muir's 'Theory of Determinants'"—

an opinion of Mr. Muir's work expressed in these columns about three years ago. Further examination showed that this work contains not only all the matters usually treated of in text-books of analytic geometry, but many others usually found only in treatises intended for professors, or those aspiring to become professors, rather than for ordinary pupils. Neither is the work confined to plane geometry. It invades space, and launches the student well into the geometry of three dimensions. Of course an octavo of 280 pages can only launch one into deep water, but one who has mastered these few pages will be well equipped to read with comparatively little trouble the four great treatises of Salmon on Higher Algebra, Conic Sections, Higher Plane Curves, and Geometry of Three Dimensions.

The author's name, William Benjamin Smith, is entirely English. But many of the idioms, the style, the general cast of the whole book, are exceedingly German. If he is of American birth, he must have resided in Germany much longer than the time usually spent at a German university, where he has certainly been, for he is a Ph.D. of Göttingen; or he has studied the works of German mathematicians until he thinks in their forms. We should hesitate a little about recommending his book to beginners. Our present impression is that it is rather strong meat for them, and that they had best for a while be satisfied with a lighter diet.

Luigi Cremona, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Rome, is one of the most learned and accomplished mathematicians in Europe. We say "learned," because he appears to have read pretty much everything worth reading about mathematics, and "accomplished," because he has the faculty of expressing other men's ideas in a form which, for artistic beauty and symmetry, is far superior to their own. A work of his on 'Projective Geometry,' which appeared in Italian in 1872, has, at the suggestion of his friends Profs. Sylvester and Price of Oxford, been translated into English, with the assistance of the author, by Mr. Charles Leudesdorf, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and published in the best style of the Clarendon Press. The work may, for our purposes, be sufficiently described as the whole science of perspective. In his preface Prof. Cremona disclaims all pretensions to having produced anything new either in matter or methods. Everything in it, he says, is old; most of it very old; much of it to be found in remote antiquity, in Euclid and Apollonius and Pappus. He places as one of three mottoes at the beginning of his preface the words of Ovid, Pont. iii, 9, 55:

"Da veniam scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis
Causa, sed utilitas officiumque fuit."

Yet it is really an astonishing work. Its learning is simply enormous. It gathers up everything pertaining to the subject from all times and places and languages; and moulds the vast material into a finished, symmetrical, and beautiful whole. Nothing seems borrowed; one would think, if he himself did not tell us the contrary by his scrupulous fidelity in referring to his authorities, that it all came out of one head.

Prof. Cremona presupposes, on the part of students of his work, only so much knowledge of triangles and the circle as is possessed by every boy who has studied an ordinary text-book of geometry—that is all. But to master the book is no easy task. It will require a long, determined strenuous effort. Most of the 252 figures printed in the text are complicated, many of them exceedingly so. The reasoning is not difficult; what is required, and what the book will cultivate, is power of conception. Any artist who could force himself to endure the labor of mastering the work would reap incalculable benefit. Whatever defects his works might afterwards have, they would not arise from want of knowledge of the relations of space and distance and form. But there is no royal road to the geometry of Cremona any more than to that of Euclid. The road to it is broad and smooth and open, but very steep.

The last book upon our table is, for the general reader of mathematical tastes and acquirements, the most interesting—provided he reads German: 'Die Lehre von den Kegelschnitten im Alterthum,' by Dr. H. G. Zeuthen, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Copenhagen (Kopenhagen: Andr. Fred. Höst & Sohn). We have only the first half of the volume, and defer any extended notice until we receive the remainder. But we can already say, from actual perusal, that few persons will read this first half without looking forward with pleasurable impatience to the appearance of the second. The title of the book is wholly inadequate to give a conception of its contents. It is by no means confined to the conic sections, but casts a flood of light over every part of the work of the ancient geometers. The first chapter, which shows in what way those wonderful men accomplished by geometrical methods many of the results obtained in modern times by means of algebra—how they had, in fact, a geometrical algebra and a regular system of rules for solving equations by the ruler and compasses—is a most admirable example of the attainment of new results in a department which was supposed to be exhausted. But all this we must leave for future consideration.

MAZZINI.

Della Vita di Giuseppe Mazzini. Per Jessie W. Mario. Milan: E. Sansogno. 1886. Quarto, with illustrations.

Joseph Mazzini: His Life, Writings, and Political Principles. With an introduction by William Lloyd Garrison. Hurd & Houghton. 1872.

When, in 1872, a Boston author edited the life of Mazzini from his own autobiography and political and literary writings originally published in England in six volumes by Mme. Venturi, *née* Ashurst, under Mazzini's own direction, we welcomed it as the most graphic and comprehensive history of Italy's great patriot and liberal reformer. The introduction, written in Mr. Garrison's most sympathetic vein, is so lucid, appreciative, and convincing, that nothing better can be said in illustration of Mazzini's brilliant talents, loftiness of mind, and aspirations for the freedom, not only of his own countrymen, but of mankind.

From his early youth Mazzini dedicated his life to the cause of the oppressed, and worked with the strong will of a martyr and the faith of a prophet for the fulfilment of his mission. It was the pitiful sight of the Lombard refugees who had conspired against Austria in 1820, begging in the streets of Genoa, that first awakened his mind to the miseries of Italy, when he was a mere boy of eleven. A few years after, he, with the brothers Ruffini—one of them the future author of 'Dr. Antonio'—and other fellow-students, began the clandestine work of republican propaganda by means of the secret society of "Young Italy," which, gradually spreading among the people, achieved finally the liberty of the nation.

One of the most remarkable incidents in Mazzini's patriotic aspirations was the following. He had been exiled from Piedmont in 1830 for the part he had taken in the liberal movement of that year. A few months after, on the death of Charles Felix, Charles Albert, who had been a conspirator against Austria, ascended the throne. On this occasion, the hopes of the patriots reviving, Mazzini addressed a letter to him, and published it under his signature, in which he openly asked him to take the lead of the liberal Italians, and drive the Austrians, the Grand Dukes, the King of Naples, and the other despots from Italy, and crown himself her only king. The textual words were:

"There is a crown brighter and nobler than that of Piedmont—a crown that only awaits a man bold enough to conceive the idea of wearing it, resolute and determined enough to consecrate himself wholly to the realization of that idea, and virtuous enough not to dim its splendor with ignoble tyranny. Moreover, if you do not put yourself at the head of the struggle for Italian independence, you may retard, but cannot prevent, the fulfilment of the destiny of the Italian people. If you do not do this, others will; they will do it without you, against you.

"Sire, I have spoken to you the truth. The men of freedom await your answer in your deeds. Whatsoever that answer be, rest assured that posterity will either hail your name as that of the greatest of men or the last of Italian tyrants. Take your choice."

What Charles Albert's feelings were when he read this letter—for he did read it—we know not; but he must have been startled at the rash conception and the daring of this youth of twenty-two in the face of all-powerful Austria and the other six despotic rulers of Italy, who, if they could have suspected such ideas in the new King of Piedmont, would have crushed him in a fortnight. Accordingly, whatever his internal feelings or aspirations might have been, he had to stifle them for the time, and his Government had to condemn the author and publisher of such ideas inimical to Austria and the other rulers in Italy. It was but seventeen years after, in 1848, that this very King took up Mazzini's patriotic idea, placed himself at the head of the Italian Liberals against Austria, fought for Italian independence, and lost his crown in the attempt. But his son, Victor Emmanuel, following boldly that ideal conception, carried it to its goal in 1870.

Mazzini's genius showed its almost prophetic insight in that letter; for from that day, throughout a long and laborious life of conspiracies and revolutions, he sought to destroy that monarchy of Piedmont and all monarchies, and he failed; but finally his original idea of the King of Piedmont wearing the crown of independent and united Italy succeeded in spite of all and in spite of himself. To him, therefore, is due the glory of first conceiving the unity of Italy, for before him the best that her most patriotic sons dared to aspire to and hope for was a federation of the several rulers of Italy independent of Austria.

The new life of Mazzini published in Italy by Jessie White Mario is of a more popular character. Mme. Mario, widow of the late eminent republican patriot and disciple of Mazzini, Alberto Mario, has gathered in this work all the details of his long and laborious life. It was published in numbers and in a very cheap form for circulation among the people. Mme. Mario, idolizing her hero, enters into the smallest details of his private life, his hidden workings, the secret societies he instituted both in Italy and in Europe, his coming and going in disguise, his hair-breadth escapes, his failures and successes, his triumvirate of the Roman republic—in fact, all the republican movement from 1830 to 1870, during which period Mazzini played a most prominent part; so much so that he became a sort of a spectre haunt-

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ing all the monarchical governments of Europe. There happened neither an outbreak, a conspiracy, a plot or attempt to assassinate a king or a minister, that the name of Mazzini was not mixed up in it rightly or wrongly. In consequence of this, he was exiled or expelled from every State in Europe, even the republic of Switzerland. He took refuge finally in England, whose Tory Government, being unable to expel him, nevertheless opened his correspondence at the Post-office to spy his secret workings, in the interest of Austria. This incident was brought before Parliament with indignant protest. Carlyle wrote a famous sarcastic letter, denouncing this shameful transaction.

Mazzini's share in the latter years of the Italian regeneration, when the constitutional element took the lead, was only subsidiary. His life-long secret works of conspiracies and concealment had become with him a second nature, and, in spite of his very small following, he still conspired for the republic, even when his former followers and co-conspirators were generals, senators, members of Parliament, aides-de-camp to the King, all serving the constitutional Government of united Italy. This unity of Italy he had initiated, and had educated the young Italians to his ideal; but he conceived it possible only through the republic, so that, when the monarchical element took it up, he opposed it with his usual tenacity, and when it was actually realized by Garibaldi, Cavour, and Victor Emmanuel he still distrusted it. "I have lived, I live, and I shall die a republican," he wrote at the time, "bearing witness to my faith to the last. . . . The people of Italy are led astray by a delusion at the present day—a delusion which has induced them to substitute material unity for moral unity and their own regeneration. Not so I. I bow my head sorrowfully to the sovereignty of the national will, but monarchy will never number me among its servants or followers."

The superhuman labor which Mazzini endured in his clandestine crusade for the unity and liberty of Italy is marvellous, and is vividly brought out in its general scope by the concise and careful selections from Mazzini's own works in the American work whose title we give above, and by Mme. Mario in her extremely minute narrative, derived from original sources and documentary pieces, and written from a radical point of view.

A History of Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering in the Old Days, showing the State of Political Parties and Party Warfare at the Hustings and in the House of Commons from the Stuarts to Queen Victoria. Illustrated from the original Political Squibs, Lampoons, Pictorial Satires, and Popular Caricatures of the Time. By Joseph Grego. London: Chatto & Windus; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1886. 8vo, pp. 403.

MR. GREGO'S elongated title shows that his "Old Days" includes a very recent period, but it gives no indication of an interesting chapter, "Concerning Early Parliaments," which enlarges the scope of his work beyond the Stuarts, or of the fact that his final chapter carries the work *into* the reign of Victoria, breaking off in 1857. He does better, therefore, by his readers than he promises. The biographer of Gillray and of Rowlandson belongs in the same category of bookmakers with Mr. John Ashton, whose defects he shares. Both are antiquarians, rather than historians, and both revel in the field of caricature. Both are open to the charge of literary unskilfulness; their narratives are formless and given to repetition, and chronologically loose; and both indulge to excess in minute descriptions of unreproduced caricatures, than which there could hardly be more tedious reading. In naming his authorities Mr. Grego is much the more meritorious, though not always careful, and we confess to a decided preference, on all points—typographical in particular—in his favor. The present work is copiously illustrated. The author has had the good sense to give facsimile copies after the great English humorous designers, whereas Mr. Ashton makes laborious wooden tracings or reductions in outline, with a certificate of fidelity attached, signed by himself as delineator. In the examples in Mr. Grego's History, Hogarth comes upon the scene in 1754, Rowlandson in 1784, Gillray in 1788, Cruikshank in 1818, John Doyle and W. Heath in 1830, etc. It need not be said that the mere grouping of so many masters and styles in one volume creates of itself a work of value. A large folded colored plate after Cruikshank in 1853, a skit at woman suffrage, is highly characteristic of this satirist; and there is a little gem of John Doyle's—the King's Arms, with Cobbett and Burdett as lion and unicorn respectively—which ranks very near the head of the entire array.

Much cheer for the political reformer is to be found in this chronicle. Almost to the end of the period covered by it, "it must be admitted," says Mr. Grego, "that at least a considerable portion of the Commons, under the borough-mongering and patronage-monopolizing days, which reached to 1831, was not far removed from the condition of semi-vassalage." Gray's Reform Bill, introduced in 1797, initiated a contest lasting more than thirty years, and paved the way for the successive measures which have broadened the suffrage and equalized the representation in Parliament. In 1807 the return of Wilberforce from York involved a prodigious outlay, to which his friends alone were pledged to contribute more than $300,000, though it was left to their opponents to squander much larger sums in bribery and in providing transportation for voters. The nation has moved on from such practices to Sir Henry James's anti-bribery bill of 1881. In the early times it is worthy of remark that the travelling expenses of the representative, as well as a nominal salary, were paid by the borough for which he stood. This gave the sheriffs an opportunity to treat boroughs in a very arbitrary manner, returning many poor ones that were unable to pay their representatives. Salaries were abolished in the reign of Charles II., and Pepys records the contemporary judgment that this was a misfortune to Parliament. When wages were paid, men, he says, were chosen who understood their business and would attend it, and could be held accountable by the places that hired them, "which now (March, 1668) they cannot, and so the Parliament is become a company of men unable to give account for the interest of the place they serve for." In May of that same year, on a question of privilege arising between the two houses, the Lords held their heads high as "Judices nati et Conciliarii nati; but all other Judges among us are under salary, and the Commons themselves served for wages; and therefore the Lords, in reason, were the freer Judges."

On the riotous side of Parliamentary elections we cannot dwell here. One who reads what is described on pages 181, 182, 261, may bethink himself of the heavy vote lately cast for Henry George without a broken head. A whole chapter is devoted to Wilkes; and a speech of Sir Francis Burdett, on his final return from Westminster in 1837, is very advisedly quoted in full. The pictures illustrate many of the technical terms and peculiar customs of British elections—the hustings, the chairing of candidates, the processions, and the like—and form also an authentic portrait gallery of leading politicians. Mr. Grego has some observations on the shifting allegiance, now to Whigs and now to Tories, of his caricaturists, John Doyle being exceptionally consistent. A few words might have been given to the rise of *Punch*, and its influence on the profession of political satire.

The Virginia Campaign of General Pope in 1862. Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. Volume ii. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1886.

THE first volume of these papers, which discussed the Peninsula campaign, was one of the most valuable contributions that up to that time had been made to our war literature. The second volume, now before us, is not inferior to its predecessor, though the great amount of matter which has been published about the war, and especially about Pope's campaign, of recent years, may make its contents less novel. The ability, the research, the calm historical tone which characterize these papers, are most admirable. They treat briefly and clearly the Union side of the campaign, and the controversies which grew out of it in regard to the conduct of Porter, McClellan, and Halleck. The campaign itself is well sketched in one paper by Col. Horton and two by Mr. Ropes. These papers are supplemented by one from Gen. G. H. Gordon, discussing the operations of August 27. Two of the best papers in the volume are those of Gen. Walcott on Chantilly. Gen. Walcott gives a most admirable description of this last battle between Lee and Pope, and, with the assistance of excellent maps, has corrected the errors which have crept into most accounts of it. He is the first writer, we believe, to locate the scene of the fight clearly and accurately. His second paper is an interesting narrative of a visit to the field in recent years. Both papers are as charming in style as they are valuable in an historical point of view, and they constitute perhaps the most important contributions to the volume.

The Porter case of course comes in for a large share of attention. It, as well as the questions about McClellan and Halleck, is discussed by Generals Quincy and Weld and by Colonels Haven, Lyman, and Livermore in a spirit of great fairness. Porter and Halleck are acquitted of serious charges, while in regard to McClellan both sides are given. Mr. Ropes's concluding paper, on the "Hearing in the Fitz-John Porter Case," is an excellent summary as well as criticism of that matter as presented to the Schofield Board in 1878.

The data published since the preparation of many of these papers would have corrected some oversights. It is not proper, for instance, to say of Pope that "at last he was outnumbered, and the promised reinforcements failed." Fully one-third of the army with which Pope fought consisted of reinforcements from McClellan. There was no day of the campaign when Pope was outnumbered by his adversary, and during all the most critical part of it Pope had seven men to Lee's five. Pope's errors of statement in regard to this have been dissipated by the publication of the official returns.

Mr. Ropes criticises Lee's strategy while praising the admirable manner of its execution. He thinks Jackson's operations rash and not justified by the object in view. But this is not fully to appreciate the difficulty of Lee's position and the purpose of the Confederate leader. The movable Federal columns in eastern and northern Virginia on the 1st of August aggregated 150,000 men, exclusive of the garrison of Washington. Lee had, with which to oppose this force, not over 75,000 men, including the garrison of Richmond. When he became satisfied that McClellan was going to reinforce Pope on the Rappahan-

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nock, he determined to strike the latter before the two principal Federal armies could unite. Foiled at first by Pope's retreat from the Rapidan and then by a storm, when about to cross the Rappahannock at the White Sulphur Springs, he conceived the bold plan which Jackson carried out, of seizing Manassas in Pope's rear. Lee thus effected his object, which was not, as is too often supposed, a mere raid on Pope's supplies and lines of communication. Had this been all, the advantage would hardly have compensated for the risk. The purpose of the movement was much wider. After forcing Pope from the Rappahannock, and disconcerting and distressing him by the destruction of his supplies, it was the object of the Confederate leader to give him battle. The skill and nerve with which Jackson managed Pope until Lee came up, will constitute one of the strong grounds on which his military reputation will rest. This feat of Jackson's must rank with his bold push between McDowell and Fremont at Strasburg, and with his final achievement against Hooker at Chancellorsville. There was no bolder or more successful strategy in the war.

That Jackson ran great risk is true, but we think that this view of the case has been exaggerated. Lee felt no apprehension about the fate of his lieutenant. Jackson was enveloped by a splendid body of cavalry, which completely screened his own movements, while they revealed to him all those of his adversary. Pope's cavalry was not efficient. These facts gave Jackson an immense advantage, and rendered the "bagging" operation which Pope proposed practically out of the question. There was no time when Jackson could not have retreated towards Aldie, for instance; no time when, with his quickness, he could not have eluded Pope's converging columns, even had these columns been directed with far more wisdom than was the case.

Two Thousand Miles through the Heart of Mexico. By Rev. J. Hendrickson McCarty, D.D. Phillips & Hunt. 1886. Pp. 288.

A BOOK destined not to fill a void, but to push its way into a plenum, ought to be one of positive merit. When it is remembered that no less than twenty-five volumes of Mexican travels and description have appeared in English since 1880, it will be conceded that a new work of the same class can have reason for being only by virtue of opening fresh fields, or of greatly improved handling of familiar matter. Dr. McCarty's book, unfortunately, does neither. If it stands out at all from the mass of kindred writing, it is solely in consequence of unusual inaccuracy, padding to the point of bursting, and a style whose dulness would be insupportable were it not for the relief it affords after the author's occasional disheartening attempts at wit. There should be some means of persuading ordinary tourists in Mexico, over the ordinary routes, that the world will willingly allow them to preserve their notes of travel unpublished. A good way would be to have placed in the hands of every traveller, as he crosses the river at El Paso or Laredo, Anderson's bibliography of recent works on Mexico, or Bancroft's list, ninety pages long, of authorities on Mexican history. This ought to deter all but writers conscious of genius from attempts to tell the old tales over again. Even in Mexico, however, comparatively virgin soil remains. The wilds of Sonora have been little explored and less written about; interior Yucatan has seen few successors of Stephens; Guerrero, Tabasco, and Chiapas are States practically unvisited. It is a pity that Dr. McCarty did not go to some of these places. By not doing so he missed his only chance of writing an interesting book on Mexico.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Demigod: A Novel. Harper & Brothers.
Anecdotes Illustrative of Old Testament Texts. A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1.50.
Arnold-Forster, H. O. The Citizen Reader. For the Use of Schools. 5th ed. Cassell & Co.
Arnold, T. J. Reynard the Fox. After Goethe. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $2.00.
Bert, P. First Steps in Scientific Knowledge. Complete in seven parts. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 60 cents.
Besant, W. Children of Gibeon: A Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
Blackburn, H. Randolph Caldecott: His Early Art Career. George Routledge & Sons. $6.00.
Brine, Mary D. A Mother's Song. Illustrated. Cassell & Co. $2.50.
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. Sonnets from the Portuguese. Illustrated. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $15.00.
Brownson, Dr. O. A. The American Republic: Its Constitution, Tendencies, and Destiny. New ed. P. O'Shea.
Brunot, F. Grammaire historique de la langue française. Christern.
Butterworth, H. Zigzag Journeys in the Sunny South. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.75.
Chatterbox, 1886. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.25.
Cooley, Prof. L. R. C. A Guide to Elementary Chemistry for Beginners. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. 72 cents.
Days with Sir Roger de Coverley. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. Macmillan & Co. $2.00.
Du Bose, Rev. H. C. The Dragon, Image, and Demon: or the Three Great Religions of China. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 2.00.
Duprè, G. Thoughts on Art and Biographical Memoirs. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $2.00.
Fenn, G. M. The Chaplain's Craze: Being the Mystery of Findon Friars. Harper & Brothers.
Frieze, H. S. Giovanni Duprè. With two Dialogues on Art from the Italian of Augusto Conti. Scribner & Welford.
Ginn-Coady. Combined Number and Language Lessons. Boston: Ginn & Co. 55 cents.
Gower, Lord R. Last Days of Marie Antoinette: An Historical Sketch. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $4.00.
Griffin, S. B. Mexico of To-Day. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers.
Haggard, H. R. King Solomon's Mines: A Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
Hamerton, P. G. Imagination in Landscape Painting. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $6.50.
Hanotaux, G. Etudes historiques sur le xvie et xviie siècle en France. Boston: Schoenhof.
Harper's Young People. 1886.
Harte, B. The Story of a Mine. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50 cents.
Hood, T. Fair Ines. Illustrated. Boston; Estes & Lauriat. $1.50.
Hugo, Victor. Les Misérables. George Routledge & Sons. $3.00.
Irving, H. English Actors, their Characteristics and their Methods. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. 25 cents.
Irving, W. Old Christmas: From the Sketch Book. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. Macmillan & Co. $5.00.
Knoflach, A. German Simplified: An Explanation of the Principles of the German Language. A. Knoflach.
Knox, T. W. The Boy Travellers in the Russian Empire. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers.
Kraszewsky, J. I. Le Juif, traduit du polonais par Alexandre Holynski. Boston: Schoenhof.
Lathbury, Mary A. From Meadow to Mistletoe. Worthington Co.
Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss. A. D. F. Randolph & Co $1.50.
Macquoid, Katharine S. Sir James Appleby, Bart.: A Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
Malot, Hector. Zyte. B. Westermann & Co.
Molloy, J. F. Famous Plays, with a Discourse by way of Prologue on the Playhouses of the Restoration. Scribner & Welford.
Our Little Ones and the Nursery. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.75.
Pooler, C. T. Manual of the School Laws of the State of New York. 2d ed. E. L. Kellogg & Co. 30 cents.
Pontmartin, A. de. Souvenirs d'un vieux critique, Septième série. Boston: Schoenhof.
Prentiss, Mrs. E. Stepping Heavenward. New ed. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.
Raleigh, T. Elementary Politics. Macmillan & Co. 25 cents.
Renan, Ernest. L'Abbesse de Jouarre. Christern.
Rheinhardt, R. H. Whist Scores and Card-Table Talk: with a Biography of Whist. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Rolfe-Hersey. Select Poems of Robert Browning. Harper & Brothers.
Roussett, M. A. The Forest Waters the Farm. Forest and Stream Publishing Company.
Schwatka, F. The Children of the Cold. Cassell & Co. $1.25.
Sheykh-Zâda. The History of the Forty Vezirs; or the Story of the Forty Morns and Eves. Done into English by E. J. W. Gibb. Scribner & Welford.
Shilleto, A. R. Pausanias: Description of Greece, Translated into English, with Notes and Index. 2 vols. Scribner & Welford.
Smith, A. M. A System of Political Economy. 2d ed. London: Williams & Norgate.
Stall, Rev. S. Lutheran Year-Book and Historical Quarterly for 1887. Lutheran Publication Houses.
Storrs, Dr. R. S. The Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by its Historical Effects. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $2.00.
The Berean Beginner's Book. 1887. Phillips & Hunt.
The Berean Question Book. 1887. Phillips & Hunt.
The Berean Senior Lesson Book. 1887. Phillips & Hunt.
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